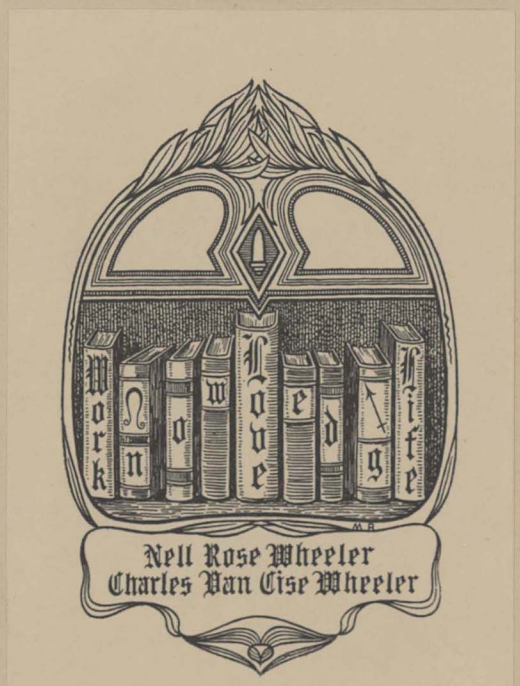
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RESEARCHES

INTO THE HISTORY OF

PLAYING CARDS

AND

PRINTING.

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WITH HOARY WHISKERS AND A FORKY BEARD;
AND FOUR FAIR QUEENS WHOSE HANDS SUSTAIN A FLOWER,
TH' EXPRESSIVE EMBLEM OF THEIR SOFTER POWER;
FOUR KNAVES IN GARBS SUCCINCT, A TRUSTY BAND,
CAPS ON THEIR HEADS, AND HALBERTS IN THEIR HAND;
AND PARTY-COLOUR'D TROOPS, A SHINING TRAIN,
DRAWN FORTH TO COMBAT ON THE VELVET PLAIN.

Rape of the Lock, Canto III.

Frontispiece.

Swaine sc.

From an Ancient Print Engraved

by Israel Van Mecken.

RESEARCHES

INTO THE HISTORY OF

PLAYING CARDS;

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Origin of Printing

AND

ENGRAVING ON WOOD.

By SAMUEL WELLER SINGER.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY AND SON

FOR ROBERT TRIPHOOK, N° 23, OLD BOND STREET.

1816.

TO

WILLIAM ROSCOE, ESQ.

IN TESTIMONY OF

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AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE PLEASURE DERIVED

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PREFACE.

PREFACE to a trifle of this nature may seem an unnecessary appendage, yet in conformity with custom, and impressed with that anxious feeling which attends a literary novice on his first appeal to a critical tribunal, I shall offer a few words by way of introduction.

This has alternately been considered the most interesting, and the dullest part of a book; but the common consent of authors in all ages has made it an almost necessary accompaniment of every species of literary composition. Prefaces may not unaptly be compared to letters of recommendation written by a partial friend, and must be received by those to whom they are addressed with the same indulgence. In this part of the writer's and the reader's intercourse, it is allowable to descend from the dignity of authorship, to unbend from austere forms and dry formalities; it is here that the writer may without offence obtrude himself upon the reader, and explain his pretensions to hold

converse with him for a season: with this view I proceed to state what may be expected on the present occasion.

It had some time been my intention to have given a translation of the learned Bullet's "*Recherches sur les Cartes à Jouer*," when accident threw in my way the very early pack of German cards which are engraved in the following work: this led to the perusal of the ingenious papers upon the subject in the eighth volume of the Archæologia. The subsequent acquisition of the curious Essay by Brietkopf, and the kind communications and friendly aid of Francis Douce, Esq. whose collection was freely thrown open to me, led to an alteration of plan, and materials having accumulated, what was at first intended to have formed a small pamphlet, has grown up into a formidable volume.

A subject which was deemed by a first-rate scholar worthy of his attention, may be supposed not entirely uninteresting. Dr. Hyde, the learned orientalist, who has published a very curious book upon Chess, announced his intention of giving the world a History of Cards. Whether more serious objects diverted his attention, or whether he was disappointed in his enquiries, and found the results too unimportant for his purpose, I know not; but his promise to the public was never made good; nor among his papers which have been preserved, is there any evidence of his having made collections on the subject. Those who take in-

terest in researches of this kind, will join me in regretting that we have been deprived of the information which his great learning and extensive reading would have enabled him to furnish, particularly from those sources whence most was to be expected, the oriental writers. It is feared the reader, in perusing the following pages, will have but too much cause to lament that the subject has fallen into the hands of so unworthy a successor.

The first section is devoted to the Origin of Cards. The principal novelty consists in the specimens of oriental cards, and in the opinions built upon them. I trust the deductions drawn from the materials collected are not overstrained, but such only as are warranted by the evidence adduced. In enquiries of this nature it is unfortunately necessary to call in the aid of conjecture; for it has been justly observed, that those who would fix the epoch of the invention or the nation to whom it belongs, must be enabled to draw their materials from very recondite sources, and that but little assistance is to be derived from European writers.

The history of Playing-cards is so intimately connected with the origin of the arts of Engraving on Wood and Printing, that a large portion of the second section will be found devoted to a consideration of the probable source whence those arts were derived. If the account which gives the honor of the invention of Xylo-

graphy to the Card-makers be credited, it will be obvious that we owe the rise of that art

"Which breathes a soul into our silent walls,"

to these objects of amusement: and this circumstance gives to the whole inquiry more importance, and a higher degree of interest. The sketch of Typographical history here attempted, it is believed, may lay claim to the merit of being the most complete which has been hitherto given to the English reader, and at the same time will, I trust, be considered the most impartial; at least, I have endeavoured to divest my mind of prejudice, and have given the evidence fairly on both sides of the question, deducing from it the conclusions which a mature consideration seemed to warrant. It is to be regretted that on this subject so much must still be left in uncertainty.

The third section embraces what scanty information could be collected respecting some of the principal and most interesting of the games at cards.

These inquiries may perhaps have been deemed of more importance than the reader will be pleased to allow to them, for objects which have long engaged the attention, acquire a consequence in our estimation, with which those whose pursuits are of a different nature, cannot reasonably be expected to have any sympathy. But there are a few individuals who have declared

themselves interested in the subjects here treated, whose approbation, if obtained, will amply repay my labours. I could not expect that a work of this nature should have any claim to popular favour, and indeed the small impression which has been taken off, demonstrates my expectations in this respect.

Unused to literary composition, and engaged in avocations of more immediate and indispensable necessity, the following pages, compiled at remote intervals of leisure, will no doubt bear marks of the desultory manner in which they have been composed, and of the want of skill in the writer. I have no better apology to offer for all imperfections of style and arrangement in the book: and I urge not this to deprecate criticism, sensible of the truth of the assertion, "that the disadvantages under which an author labours are no excuse for the imperfections of his work." But anxious it should be understood that I am not unconscious of some of its defects, which would have been avoided, had my abilities equalled the desire I felt to justify the partiality of those at whose instance, and under whose patronage, it has been written.

Of the Prints, which may be considered the most interesting feature in the present work, I may be permitted to speak in terms of just commendation; they do honour to the artists employed.[1] The typographical

[1] Mr. Swaine for the Engravings on Copper. Mr. E. Byfield for those on Wood.

execution is in character with all the beautiful productions of Mr. Bensley's press: England has reason to be proud of the perfection to which this art has arrived in his hands.

To hope for fame or profit from an undertaking of such limited interest would be unreasonable; and amid the *fumum et opes strepitumque* of this period big with the fate of nations, what writer of Archæological *nugæ* can expect to be heard, even if he possessed the taste and graceful diction of a Warton?

It is however only by comparison that the value and utility of any human pursuit can be appreciated; perhaps those who spend no small portion of their lives in examining the form of a crystal, or settling the genus of an insect, are more usefully, and certainly more innocently employed, than some of the heroes of the historic muse. The *besoin d'agir* reigns in every bosom, and it is well for those of whose amusements it may be said that they are at least harmless; at the same time, they only are the truly well employed, whose lives are devoted to the amelioration of the condition of their fellow beings.

North End, Fulham, Feb. 16*th,* 1816.

SECTION THE FIRST.

ON

THE ORIGIN OF CARDS.

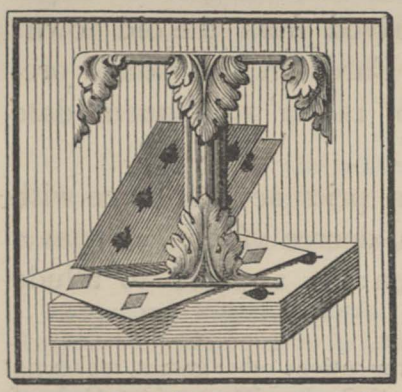
DI QUELLE CARTE, E DI QUEL MAZZO STRANO
L'ORIGINE CERCANDE, E IL PRIMO ARCANO.

Bettinelli Il Giuoco delle Carte poema, Canto I.

RESEARCHES INTO THE HISTORY

OF

PLAYING CARDS, &c.



THE origin of many of the most important inventions of human ingenuity, notwithstanding the influence they have had on the progress of civilization, seems lost in the darkness and obscurity of the traditionary annals of remote ages. Most of them have, however, met with that attention from curious inquirers into the history of manners and customs, which their respective importance has appeared to deserve. And among the rest, the games, sports, and pastimes, which took their rise with the dawn of refinement and civil polish, have been considered among the most interesting objects of research.

The game of chess in particular has been fortunate in the attention which has been paid to its history and probable origin, by the learned, and the curious; while Cards, which will be found in the sequel to be intimately connected with chess, and certainly not of much less interest, have met with but few inquirers into their history, and from those few but very cursory attention.

composed by its anonymous author in a period of 13 years, i. e. from 1328 to 1341.[1]

The circumstance of the fleurs de lis being found in every court card, has been adduced as a proof that Cards were invented in France; but they are likewise found among the ornaments of the Romans at an early period, and also on the sceptres and crowns of the emperors of the west, in the middle ages, and on those of the kings of Castile, and of England, before the Norman conquest. But the early Cards of which we have given specimens, will be found not to bear this mark of French origin; the circumstance can only be considered, therefore, as an indication of the taste for armorial devices, prevalent at the time they were first known in France, and not any proof or assumption that they were invented there.

Cards are mentioned as being in common use among the Italians at the end of the thirteenth century.[2] *Tiraboschi* quotes a MS. of the date of 1299, in which they are expressly named.

We should, however, be enabled to boast a still earlier acquaintance with them in England, if the prohibition of the synod of Worcester, De Ludo Regis et Reginæ,[3] in the year 1240, or the passage from the wardrobe Rolls of Edward 1st, quoted by *Anstis*,[4] could

de quarante sols parisiis. Ordonnances des Roys de France, t. v. p. 172.

[1] JANSEN Essai sur l'Hist. de la Gravure, t. I. p. 99. Paris 1808, 8vo. the whole of this extract will be found in the Appendix.

[2] STORIA DELLA LETTERATURA ITALLIANA, t. vi. part 2. p. 402.

[3] DU FRESNE GLOSS. T. ii. p. 2, pag. 154, in voce LUDI DE REGE ET REGINA. "Synodus Wigorniensis, an. 1240, cap. 38, Prohibemus etiam Clericis, ne intersint ludis in honestis, vel ludant ad aleas vel taxillos: nec sustineant *Ludos* fieri *de Rege et Regina*, nec arietes levari, nec palestras publicas fieri."—videtur innui ludus quem vulgo CHARTARUM dicimus si quidem ea ætate notus fuerit. Mr. Gough says, "it rather seems to refer to the King and Queen of Twelfth day, derived from the Roman Saturnalia; it may, however, have referred to Chess, which must have been brought from Asia by the crusaders previous to this period.

[4] History of the Order of the Garter, V. 2. p. 307, where he cites the following passage, from the Wardrobe Rolls of the 6th year of Edw. I. "Waltero Sturton ad opus regis ad ludendum ad *quatuor reges*, viii. s. v. d." This game, Anstis conjectures, might be *cards*, wherein are *Kings* of *four* suits. He thinks the game of some antiquity, from the application of the word *Knave* to a youth placed next the King and Queen, and being as it were their son, in which sense that term was

be applied to Cards; but it is the opinion of several of our most able antiquaries, that they relate to other games.

Spain has found a champion for her claims to the invention of them in the *Abbé Rive*,[1] who was induced, from the consideration of the term *Naibi*, by which Cards were known among the Italians about the year 1393, to suppose that they were brought into Italy by the Spaniards, at the time when they entered Sicily and Calabria under the Castilian princes, in 1267, and under Peter III. of Arragon, about 1282, because the term which continued to designate Cards among them until the fifteenth century, is nearly similar to that by which they are known to the Spaniards even to this day.

The Spaniards call their Cards *Naipes*, which word [2] Bullet derives from the Biscayan *Napa*, signifying *flat*, *even*. The relation which this signification has to Cards, is not so obvious as Bullet imagines, and the *Abbé Rive* justly observes, that the learned men of Spain must be more competent judges: he therefore refers to the great Spanish Dictionary, in which it is said, that the word *Naipes*,[3]

used. Chaucer says, "The King of Northumberland begot a knave child;" and this use of the word is frequent in his poems. In France also, this card is called *Varlet*, a name given to the King's son.

[1] Eclaircissements Historiques sur l'Invention des Cartes a Jouer, 8vo. Paris, 1780.

[2] NAIPEA, carte à jouer. *Ba.* Naypes, cartes en vieux Espagnol, de la le terme NAIBIS que lon trouve dans la vie Latine de Saint Bernadin, qui signifie des cartes à jouer & non pas un cornet comme l'ont cru les continuateurs de Bollandus, et les nouveaux Editeurs de Ducange. MEMOIRES SUR LA LANGUE CELTIQUE, fol. Besancon, 1760. t. iii. p. 192. La racine de ce mot et *Napa* plat, uni, il designe fort bien les Cartes, et repond à la signification du mot Latin *Charta*. RECHERCHES, p. 134.

[3] NAIPE. s. m. Carton cortado a la proporcion de la vigessima quarta parte de un pliego común, en que se pintan con diversos colóres algunas figúras, en numero determinado, para jugar a varios juegos, formando un numero di quarenta ù quarenta y ocho cartas, divididas en quatro palos ò manjàres que son oros, copas espadas, y bastos, y en cada uno de estos, tres figuras, que se llaman Rey, Caballo, y Sota, y los demás por los números hasta siete ò nueve, llamandose el primero, as. *Tamarid* quiere que sea nombre Arabigo, y lo mismo el *Brocense*; pero comunmente se juzga que les dió este nombre por la primer cifra que se les puso, que fué una N y una P con que se significaba el nombre de su inventór *Nicolao Pepin*: y de ahi con pequeña corupcion se dixe *Náipe*. Lat. *Charta picta Lusoria*. DICCIONARIO DE LA LENGUA CASTELLANA. Madrid, 1734, fol. t. iv. p. 645.

In the DICTIONARIO TRILINGUE DEL CASTELLANA BASCUENCE, (SAN SEBAS-

is derived from the initial letters of the name of the inventor of Cards, N. P. *Nicolao Pepin*, in consequence of which he thinks himself authorised to consider the Spaniards as the inventors. Whether this etymology be more probable than that of *Bullet*, or whether the name of the supposed inventor has not rather been manufactured from the denomination of Cards, may be reasonably doubted, as there have been so many similar fables invented to illustrate historical doubts.

The earliest mention of Cards, however, among the Spaniards, is that adduced by the *Abbé Rive* from *Gutery's* Translation[1] of *Guevara's Epistles:* and this testimony, it must be confessed, is very doubtful, as it does not occur in the original Spanish text of any of the editions.

The prohibition of them, by John I. king of Castile, in 1387, is less disputable.[2]

It is not improbable that the Spaniards were acquainted with Cards at a much earlier period; we cannot however consider, that we have any thing like proof of their having been the inventors, but they probably derived them immediately from their Moorish invaders.

TIAN, 1745, T. ii. pag. 110,) is the following explanation of the term: *Naipe*, es voz Bascongada, *naipea*, aunque no los usamos, de *nai* querer, y voluntad, y *pepea*, debaxo, inferior, y à los *naipes* les quadra el nombre, por que debaxo, ù en la parte inferior, estan las figuras, ò palos, y se reparten quedandose ocultos, y debaxo; y por que esto excita, y se junta con el deseo y querer vencer, y ganar, bien se lo diò el nombre de *naipes*, *Cartá*, y en adelante *naipea*. Lat. *Charta Lusoria*.

[1] Antonio de Guevara, Archbishop of Mondoñedo, Historiographer to Charles V. The first Spanish edition of his "*Epistolas Familiares*," was printed at Valladolid in 1539. Of Gutery's French translation, the first edition appeared in 1588, at Lyons, in 4to. In which Alphonso XI. of Castile is said to have prohibited *Cards*, among the other games in the Statutes of the Order of the Band, in 1332. The passage stands thus "Commandoit leur ordre, *que nul des Chevaliers de la Bande osast jouer argent aux* CARTES *ou dez, &c.* It is, however, extraordinary that none of the Spanish editions, nor the Italian, German, or English translations of these letters, contain a syllable about *Cards* in this passage; the whole of the Abbé Rive's Hypothesis therefore rests upon the testimony of Gutery's translation, and the fable of their name being derived from the initials of their inventor: slender grounds upon which to establish an historical fact.

[2] See Appendix.

It is so difficult to account for the Spanish name of Cards, *Naipes*,[1] from Spanish idioms, that *Breitkopf* was induced to seek its origin from the Arabic: the mixture of which with the Spanish language is well known, the conjecture and deduction are very ingenious. He says, " I was confirmed in my opinion by the signification of the Hebrew word *Naibes*, for the old Italian name of Cards, *Naibi*, resembles the Hebrew word still more, and in both languages it denotes *sorcery*, *fortune-telling*, *prediction*, *&c.* This applies much better to Cards, than the Biscayan word *Napa*, *flat*, *even*, as there is a certain foresight required in almost every game of Cards. That the Spaniards should transform *b* into *p*, is perfectly natural; *b* is by them pronounced *v*."

And this opinion of *Breitkopf* is still further confirmed by the circumstance of the denomination of the Knave, *Tuchim*, which seems to partake much more of Arabic than French origin. *Tuchán*, in Arabic, signifying *darkness*, *obscurity*, it might probably be bestowed upon this band of depredators, on account of their concealment in forests and obscure places. The Eastern origin of Cards appears still more probable, when we consider that we owe the introduction of chess among us to that people. The term *Naipes* is as much of oriental origin as the name of chess, *Ssed renge*, or Hundred Cares, by which it is known among the Arabians. And on reference to *Cobarruvias*[2] for his explanation of the term, we find that he cites authority in support of its Arabic derivation.[3] The learned[4] *Salvini* has also thrown

[1] Cards are also called *Naipes* in the Portuguese language.

[2] *Naipes.* Libro disenquadernado en que se lee comunmente en todas estados que pudiera estar en el catalogo de los reprovados. Dixeronse naipes de la cifra primera que tuvieron; en la qual se encerrava el nombre del inventor. Eran un N y P. y de alli les pareciô llamarlos naipes; pero las dichas letras dezian Nicolao Pepin. *Tamarid*, piensa ser Arabigo, y lo mismo el *Brocence.* TESORO DE LA LENGUA CASTELLANA. Madrid, 1674, folio.

[3] In the Arabic, *Nabaa* signifies, he has emitted a gentle voice, as sorcerers do; from which root are derived *Naba*, the Sorcerer's drum, and *Nabi*, a prophet or fortune-teller. *Eichorn* in his Introduction to the Old Testament explains the Hebrew words *Nabi*, *Nabüm*, by divine inspiration, and by individuals acting from divine inspiration. COURT DE GEBELIN derives it from an oriental word *Nap*, which is said to denote as much as, *to take*, *to hold.*

[4] *Naibi* cioè Carte a giocare, in Ispag-

out the same conjecture on the origin of the word *Naibi*, and even has gone so far as to say, that it is probable, for the knowledge of cards, we are indebted to the *Moors*.

History points distinctly at the road by which the Europeans may have derived their knowledge of Cards from this nation. The Saracens having spread with rapidity over Asia and Africa, had attempted to cross the sea, as early as the seventh century. In the year 652 they invaded Sicily, which they had completely conquered, by the year 832. We find them in Spain in the year 710, and about 731 they penetrated through Languedoc into France as far as Arles, and continued in possession of the southern parts of Spain until the year 1492. About the year 842, they proceeded from Sicily to Calabria,[1] and a few years afterwards to Rome and the Tuscan territory. They maintained themselves in different parts of Italy until the tenth century, and their power was such, that the pope and other Italian princes made use of their assistance in their wars with each other. In the beginning of the tenth century, a party of Saracens settled on the borders of Piedmont, penetrated as far as the Alps in the Valais, and safety from their inroads was purchased by ceding to them a tract of country among the mountains, about the middle of the same century.[2]

Their long continuance in the immediate vicinity of the Italian, Spanish, and French people, and their consequent communication

nuolo *Naipes*, forse venuta in Ispagna, come molte altre dall' Arabo : e forse le Carte medesime venner da' Mori. Salvini. *Annot. sopra la Fiera di Buonarotti. Firenze* 1726, fol. p. 393.

[1] They settled at Bari on the coast of Calabria, whither the Prince of Beneventto had invited them to assist him against the Prince of Salerno ; on which occasion they took possession of the town. Even after their expulsion from Sicily, when the remainder were brought back to Apulia, as prisoners, by the Emperor Frederic II. in the year 1221, and Nocera was their appointed residence, they were in Italy at an earlier period than the Spaniards, who only found their way there about 1267, with the two Castilian Princes; or in the reign of Peter of Arragon, about 1282.

[2] Muratori, t. v. p. 422, relates that they occupied the convent of St. Mauritius in the Valais, and plundered and murdered travellers: but that in the treaty of peace with Hugo, King of Italy, they were promised the mountainous district between Italy and Suabia to settle in.

with them, afforded these nations opportunities of becoming acquainted with their literature, arts, customs, and amusements. It is by no means necessary to suppose, that one nation derived an acquaintance with this game from the other; they might each have obtained it immediately from these oriental hordes themselves. They were at that time an enlightened people, compared with the inhabitants of Europe, and as it is acknowledged that we are indebted to them for the dawn of science and letters, and certainly for the game of chess, why may we not also have derived from them our knowledge of Playing-cards? which seem to owe their origin to a different modification of the same principle. An objection may be started that the Alcoran forbids all games of chance, but it is not necessary to suppose, that hazardous betting or playing for stakes, which among us is generally connected with the game, was usual with them; or, perhaps, they knew how to avoid transgressing the law in that respect, as well as they do with regard to the prohibition of the use of wine. At least, the Moors are now fond of playing at ombre in secret: according to Höst, they learnt this game from the Spaniards,[1] Niebuhr[2] says, that he saw European Cards among the Greeks at Cairo, but not among the Mahometans; but he found the latter playing at Cards in Bombay, and that on his appearance they hid their money.

All this does not, however, prove that the Arabians were the inventors; in the same way that they obtained the game of chess from India through the Persians:[3] they may have derived Cards from

[1] Höst's Efferetninger om Maroks og Fes. Kiobenh. 1779, 4to.

[2] Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, T. 1. p. 140. Amst. 1776. 4to. Les Arabes appellent le jeu des Cartes. *Lāb-el Kamar.*

J'ai vu a Bombay des vieux marchands Arabes jouer avec des Cartes chinoises. Elles sont incommodes, Je me souviens d'avoir vu jouer quatre personnes, dont chacun en eut tant, qu' à peine pouvoit elles les tenir dans les deux mains.

[3] The Persians did not, however, obtain the game of Chess from India, until the age of the great *Cosroës*, or *Cosru*, in the middle of the sixth century. It reached China nearly about the same period, in the reign of the Emperor *Wu-Ti*. But it was most probably unknown in Europe previous to the crusades. The first written mention of the game among the Europeans, is in some of the old romances of the Round Table; they, however, mention

them, or some other nation. There cannot, however, be a doubt, that they were introduced by their means into Europe, although it is now in vain we seek direct evidence of the fact. Had the work[1] which the learned Hyde projected on this subject come down to us, it would no doubt have set the question at rest, and thrown much light on the kind of Cards in use, and on the games played with them among the oriental nations. To develope this part of their history, much skill in the languages of the East would be requisite, and it is to be desired that some curious orientalist may at a future period think the subject worthy an attentive inquiry.

It has been asserted that Cards and Dice were invented by the Lydians, during the affliction of a famine in the reign of Atys; but, setting aside the improbability of the relation, the passage of Herodotus[2] from whence the deduction is made, does not warrant the mention of Cards in any degree. Among all the games mentioned by the antient Greek and Roman writers, there is not one which can, with good foundation, be supposed to designate cards; we may therefore safely conclude that they were unknown to them; for, possessing as we do, so many writers who have given a minute detail of their habits and manners, both public and private, had they been then in use, some mention of them would certainly have been made. Ovid[3] has on one occasion enumerated several games, proper to be

it as in use at the time of King Arthur; but this, among many other anachronisms common to them, can only be accepted as a proof, that it was known at the time they wrote. The game did not reach us before the twelfth century; it is therefore impossible that the ivory chess men with Arabic inscriptions, formerly shewn among the treasures of the abbey of St. Dennis, could have belonged to Charlemagne; or that a Bavarian Prince should have been killed by a blow with a Chess board at the court of King Pepin. Hyde thinks the mistake may have arisen by confounding the game of Draughts, (*Ludus Latrunculorum*) which was known to the Romans by that name, with Chess. *Latro* had the same signification with the old Teutonic word *Schach*, both of which signify robbery, and robber, according to *Du Fresne*. From *Schach* also is derived the word *Schœcher* (scoundrel.)

[1] We gather from the preface to his book de Ludis Orientalibus, that he had prepared an appendix "*in quo erit Historia Chartiludii, & Hist. Culîlæ et Dimnæ, &c.* I have been unable to obtain information whether the work, or his collections for it, exist in MS.

[2] *Herodot.* lib. i.

[3] *De Arte Amandi,* lib. ii.

known by a young person who would mix with society, but among them Cards find no place; surely, had they been known to him, or in use at Rome in his time, he would have particularized them among the rest; and the languages of Greece and Rome have not any known term by which Cards could have been designated.

St. Cyprian[1] has been quoted as making mention of Cards, and asserting that they formerly contained the images of Pagan idols, which the Christians transformed into the modern figures. Upon examination, however, we find nothing in his works to bear out the assertion: it is not unlikely the mistake arose from the description which he has given of the game then played at Carthage, which appears to have been the same with Draughts[2] and Dice

[1] Ce que St. Cyprien dit dans un Traité qu'il a fait sur cette matiere est fort outré. Il dit qui c'est Mercure le Dieu des Payens qui a inventé le Jeu des Cartes, qu' il s'y fit peindre et qu'il ordonna qu'à l'entre du Jeu on lui sacrifieroit; que ce sacrifice consistoit à baiser la Carte ou le Dé, ou a repandre du vin à l'honneur de cette peinture? que les Chrestiens nont fait que changer les images, qu'au lieu de mercure ils ont mis l'image d'un Roy. PICTET in his morals, tom. vi. p. 233. Geneva, 1709, 12mo.

St. Cyprian lived at Carthage about the commencement of the third century, and died a martyr in the time of the persecutions, under the Emperor Gallienus, A. D. 258. In his works there is no treatise on games, but a dissertation "*de Spectaculis*," and another "*de Aleatoribus*," ascribed to him. In neither of which is any thing to be found, which warrants the assertion of Pictet; his mistake may have, however, arisen from the following passages: "Cum enim quidam hoc malum et tam perniciosum studium adinvenit, instinctu solius zabuli, qui eum artibus suis repleverat; hanc ergo artem ostendit, quam et colendam *sculpturis cum sua imagine fabricavit*. Statuit autem imaginem suam cum nominis sui subscriptione, suggerente sibi amico, qui ut hanc artem excogitaret in pectore subjecit. Sic ergo, se in imagine speciosa demonstrans, alto quodam loco condidit; et in Sinus suos hanc aleæ tabulam gestans et quasi ipse lusor et adinventor hujus malitiæ appareret, cujus nomen a Dei servis nominari non deberet." *De Aleatoribus.*

"Si cum origine sua et institutione quæratur, causam profert aut idolum aut dæmonium aut mortuum. Ita diabolus artifex, quia idolatriam per se nudam sciebat horreri, Spectaculis miscuit ut per voluptatem posset amari.... Ergo ut taceam, quidquid latius idolatria probat, quam vana sunt ipsa certamina lites in coloribus, contentiones in cursibus, favores in honoribus, &c." *De Spectaculis.*

It is evident that St. Cyprian does not say here what Pictet has quoted from him. The *Lites in Coloribus* probably refers to the two colours of the men in the *Ludus Latrunculorum*, or game of Draughts.

[2] The game at Draughts, in its original form, was certainly, like Chess, a military game, and called *Ludus Latrunculorum* by

among the Romans. A writer[1] of the sixteenth century has given a more singular, although somewhat analogous origin to them; and probably derived from the same source.

It should seem that some writers have supposed the word *Alea*, to have signified Cards, and others have been misled by the term *Tabellas Lusorias*, otherwise it would be impossible to account for

the Romans; for *Latro*, in the early age of the republic, signified a soldier; probably from the Greek word λαΐρον, *merces*, because they served for hire. See STEPH. THESAUR. LING. GRÆ. t. ii. p. 603. In the Latin of the middle ages *Latrunculus* denoted light troops, *præcursores exercitus; milites levis armaturæ*. DU FRESNE GLOSS. t. ii. p. 38. The board was called *Tabula Latruncularia*, and the men, *Calculi*, or *Latrones*. The conqueror was called *Imperator*. OVID mentions the game *De Arte Amandi*, lib. ii. v. 207, lib. iii. v. 357, 60. See GESNERI THES. LAT. LING. t. iii. p. 40.

Mr. CHRISTIE, in his curious and learned "*Inquiry into the Antient Greek Game*," p. 18, says, "It is probable that this game might have become a common relaxation amongst the soldiers of the Roman empire, and have served as the amusement of their leisure hours, when in garrison. From the frequent intercourse they had at last with the Germans, that people learnt the use of this military game, and they seem to have continued something like it to this day, nearly in the unadorned state in which the Romans practised it; exhibiting, with some difference, an imperfect circumvention of the pieces; and, like the Romans, keeping up the tradition respecting the object of the game in its military state, by calling it the *game of Mounds*, and, at last, simply the *Mounds*: thus, *Damm*, Germanicè, a Mound; and perhaps *damen, to play at mounds*; which may have been the source from whence the French and other nations in the south of Europe have taken the names for this game. In French, *Dames, le jeu des Dames*; Italicè, *Il giuoco delle Dame*; Hispanicè, *el juego de las Damas*. And this will be no prejudice to my hypothesis, because among whatever nations practising this game the central mark has been retained, there have always been found along with it *the seeds*, as it were, of the modern Chess; and it was owing to the Romans having departed from that original form of the Πεττεία, that we became acquainted with the game of *Draughts*."

[1] The Playe of Cards is an invention of the Devill, which he found out, that he might the easilier bring in ydolatrie amongst men. For the Kings and Coate Cards that we use nowe, were in olde time the images of idols and false gods: which since they that would seeme christians, have chaunged into Charlemaigne, Launcelot, Hector, and such like names, because they would not seeme to imitate their idolatrie therein, and yet maintaine the playe itself.—*A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes, and Enterludes, with other idle Pastimes, commonly used on the Sabbath day, are reproved by the Authoritie of the Word of God and Auntient Writers. Made Dialogue-wise, by John Northbrooke.*

At London by H. Bynneman, for G. Bishop, without date, B. L.

the many false deductions drawn from writers of the middle ages respecting the first mention of Cards by them. From the first ages of the church, the councils by their decrees, the fathers by their censures, the princes by their laws, proscribed games of chance; and Dice, Osselets, Trictrac, &c. are expressly mentioned, but Cards are never spoken of.

The romances which were written in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, may be presumed to contain a tolerably faithful picture, if not of the times in which the stories are laid, at least of the times in which they were written, for the uninformed minds of the authors rendered it likely they would describe what was passing before them in regard to habits and customs; thus giving the manners of their own to former ages, without attending to the incongruity of the anachronism: it is this, perhaps, which constitutes the most interesting feature of these rude productions; and thus what at the time of their composition was a material defect, has now become one of the chief sources of estimation.

The chroniclers of the same period do not confine themselves to the public events of their times, but descend to particulars of private life, describing the actions, manners, and even the conversation of their cotemporaries with such exactness and *naïveté*, that it is possible to imagine we see them, hear them, and live with them. But neither the former nor the latter have mentioned Cards among the games in use; we must, of course, conclude they were then unknown in Europe.

Court de Gebelin[1] has, however, attempted to prove that a kind of Cards were in use among the Egyptians, in the seventh century before our present æra, the figures of which he supposes have been transmitted from age to age, and have reached us. It would indeed, however, be a most extraordinary circumstance that Cards should have existed in Egypt at so early a period; and that the Greeks

[1] *Le Monde Primitif analysé et comparé avec le Monde Moderne*, tom. viii. or, *Dissertations Mêleés*, tom. 1. Paris 1781. *Dissertation* vime. *Sur le Jeu des Tarocs.*

and Romans should not have brought them to Europe, or that they were not introduced by the Carthaginian armies into Spain and Italy; and that this should have been effected only by the Arabians, who did not reach Egypt before the seventh century after Christ, about the year 635.

He has fixed upon the ancient[1] Tarocco Cards, at present used only in a few places; which, according to him, are susceptible of several important explanations, and they were in his opinion either an allegory expressed in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics relating to their philosophy and religion; or a book containing the history of the creation of the world and of the three first ages, proceeding from Mercury himself; and that the four suits represent the four states or orders of political society. He grounds this Egyptian origin of the game upon the circumstance that the whole foundation of it may be resolved in different ways into the number *seven*,[2] which was sacred with the Egyptians, and in a most elaborate dissertation has endeavoured to establish his extraordinary hypothesis. He also found a correspondent arrangement in an ancient Chinese monument, communicated to him by M. Bertin,[3] in which were seventy-seven figures in combinations of seven.

He asserts that it is from the Egyptians,[4] or Gipsies, when they

[1] The game of Tarocco will be explained more at large in a future page; it may, however, be as well to observe, that it consists, 1. Of the figures which are called Tarocchi, which are said to contain this allegory; 2. Of the four suits, of *Spade, Coppe, Denari,* and *Bastoni.*

[2] Court de Gebelin considers that the 21 figures of the Tarocchi may be resolved into 3 times 7; the 14 Cards of each suit into twice 7; for the fool has no number and belongs to no suit. But surely the barbarous modern Tarocco Cards have not any claim to such remote antiquity; the suits in the common game have undergone many changes, and so must these figures. Some packs have 41 Tarocchi; how would they be divided into sevens? The Queen was probably not in the game, if derived from Egypt; this reduces the number in each suit to 13. These considerations make against this fanciful system. His account of the allegories represented on these Cards, will be found in the Appendix.

[3] *Bertin, Memoires sur la Chine,* describes this monument at length, and has given an engraving of it; he supposes it to be of as early date as the commencement of the Chinese monarchy, but it would be difficult to find what relation it has to Cards.

[4] It does not seem so absolutely certain that Gipsies are of Egyptian origin, as

were dispersed over Europe, that we derive the custom of making Cards the basis of fortune-telling, and a sort of oracle; and, lastly, he explains the name *Tarocco*, by means of the ancient languages of the East; and in the allegorical description of the game he deduces it from *Ta* and *Rog*, the royal road; whilst in the historical description, he derives it from *A-Rosch*, and with the article T. *Ta-Rosch*, Mercury. There have not been wanting admirers of this explanation of the origin of the game, and indeed his conjecture that Cards are of high antiquity, and of oriental origin, will be readily subscribed to by every one; but for the rest of his theory, plausible and ingenious as it may at first appear, upon mature consideration, we must, with *Breitkopf*, consider it vague and unfounded. The Italians and Spaniards having preserved the old Arabic name of Cards, *Naibi*, which agrees equally well with the use to which Gipsies apply Cards in prediction, sorcery, and fortune-telling; it seems unnecessary to seek their origin in such a strained and far-fetched etymology.

There appear such striking analogies and strong resemblances between the game of Chess and Cards in their first simple form, that the origin of them from thence may be deduced with a high degree of probability. In the early Cards we have the King, Knight, and Knave, and the numerical cards, or common soldiers. The oriental game of Chess has also its King, Vizier, and Horseman, and its pawns,

Gebelin presumes. Some Latin writers call them *Ægyptii*, the Italians call them *Zingari*, the Spaniards *Gitanos*, the French *Bohémiens*, and others, *Saraceni*; at all events Cards were known in Europe prior to the appearance of those wandering tribes. According to Münster, in his Cosmology, B. iii. c. v. they first came to Germany in 1417, with a passport of King Sigismund of Bohemia. They incontestably derived their denomination from the different countries from which they migrated. They got to France in 1427, pretending to be christians of Lower Egypt expelled by the Saracens. According to *Pasquier, Recherches*, l. iv. c. 19, their women were already practising fortune-telling; they were banished from thence in 1560. Chandler, in his Travels, p. 224, says, that he met some wandering about in Asia Minor; they were called *Adzinkari*, and seem to have been jugglers. In Hungary they still exist in numbers, and form a distinct class of people; they are settled in some villages which consist entirely of them.

or common soldiers. But the parties at Cards are doubled,[1] there are *four*, instead of *two* of each; this, indeed, is the only variation, for it will be shewn in the sequel that the apparent deviation from the number of the pieces at Chess is easily accounted for.

The game of Tarocco, with its twofold series of figures and images, is also most probably of Eastern origin, for the modern [2] Hindu Cards bear a strong resemblance, both in point of number and arrangement, to this game; the combination of the simple game derived from Chess, with the additional figures, must have been of course a subsequent improvement: the adherence of the Asiatic nations to their original customs, makes it more than likely that this game is of

[1] In Mr. Christie's account of the *Indian Game of Chess*, a more close similitude will be traced between Cards and that game, than could have been supposed on a transient glance at the subject. "This Indian game, called *Chaturanga*, or *Chess*, or the *Four Kings*, represents four princes with their troops, forming *two* allied armies on each side." And in a note on this passage, Mr. Christie says, "A game of considerable ingenuity, I am informed, is practised in Germany, consisting of two Chess-boards joined together laterally. It is played by two persons on each side, each of whom is concerned to defend his own game, at the same time that he co-operates with his ally, to distress, by every means in his power, the two armies opposed to them." *Inquiry into the Antient Greek Game, supposed to have been invented by Palamedes*, p. 74. This arrangement affords a most striking similarity to the *fourfold* game which the Indian Chess appears to have been, and whose form so nearly resembles the game at Cards, as readily to admit of the surmise, that they are merely a variation of that game, and took their rise from the same source.

[2] By the kindness of Mr. Douce, I am enabled to present the reader with a specimen of an exquisitely beautiful pack in his possession. There appear to be ninety-six cards, consisting of seven suits, the numerical cards running from one to ten, and the figured cards of each suit, which are only two in number, seem to represent a *Schah*, or King, and a horseman or *Vizier*. Besides the seven suits there are twelve other figured cards, which are probably correspondent with the *Tarocchi*, in the European game. Mr. Douce is also in possession of a pack of Round Cards, which correspond with these in number, and also in the suits represented on them; but the figured cards vary considerably. The originals of the cards here represented, are painted on ivory with much delicacy, and highly illuminated with gold, in the manner of the miniatures in missals and manuscripts. It was probably such Cards as these which Niebuhr says he saw the Arabian merchants playing with at Bombay, and which he calls Chinese Cards: it is true that those he saw might have been of Chinese manufacture, but it will be seen that the Cards in general use in China are quite of a different nature.

Swaine Sc

Oriental Cards on Ivory in the Cabinet of F. Douce Esqr.

high antiquity among them, we cannot imagine that they derived it from the European nations, for they have been slow to adopt their manners, or their amusements, and the complicated form of this very game is an argument against such a supposition.

From hence it may be fairly supposed, that the game of Cards, like the game of Chess, travelled from India to the Arabians; particularly as it seems that the Gipsies were originally Indians,[1] driven from their country; and as they traversed the north of Asia and Africa before they reached Europe, introduced the game of Cards into those countries, from whence it passed over to Europe long before them. What were the objects represented on the oriental Cards, or the games played with them, at their first introduction into Europe, we have now no means of satisfactorily ascertaining; but we may presume it is probable that they were not very remotely different from the Old Italian and Spanish Cards, and the four suits, *Spade*, (swords,) *Coppe*, (cups,) *Denari*, (money,) and *Bastone*, (clubs,) adopted both by the Italians and Spaniards, were probably the suits of the Eastern game, as some of these objects are still retained in their modern Cards. But the solution of these questions must be left to future inquirers, who can visit the only sources of information upon these points, the oriental writers, or the intelligent and learned natives of the East. That they have written instructions for playing their games, there can be no doubt, and that they have a traditional, if not a written account, of the origin of Cards, is also to be presumed.

It is, however, extremely probable, that the ancient original game of the East, whether it had little or much resemblance to Chess, and whether military or not, was first adopted by all nations, before they invented their own national games: and that they also played the games of their own invention with these Eastern Cards, before they underwent any change. This, we may presume, was the game in its simplest form, consisting of thirty-six cards only;

[1] See Appendix, and Grellman on the Gipsies, by Raper, Lond. 1787, 4to. and Brand's Popular Antiquities, by Ellis. Lond. 1813, 4to. vol. ii. p. 431.

the more complicated game resembling *Tarocco*, was most undoubtedly of later invention, and may not have been introduced into Europe, until a subsequent period.

We shall now proceed to inquire how far it is probable one nation adopted them from the other, and in what manner a few alterations produced new sorts of Cards, and new games. It is difficult to decide which European nation has the fairest claim to the first written mention of Cards, for the term *Alea*,[1] cannot, with any foundation, be supposed to have been ever intended to designate them. Should the game mentioned in the Wardrobe Rolls of Edward I. under the denomination "*Quatuor Reges*,"[2] be admitted as indicating Cards, we should be possessed of the first written mention of the game hitherto discovered; and it seems probable, that either Cards or Chess[3] are meant; for it should be observed, that one of the oriental names of the latter has been thus translated. Mr. Gough's[4] objection to the Crusaders having introduced the game among us, is, that they had something else to do; but this is quite overruled by the preservation of a very curious edict,[5] which shews the state of gaming in the Christian army, commanded by Richard I. King of England, and Philip of France, during the crusade in the year 1190. Indeed, upon the whole, it is, perhaps, almost as probable that we derived our knowledge of Cards from this source, as from our continental neighbours; the principal objection seems

[1] See Appendix.

[2] Anstis, Order of the Garter, v. ii. p. 307. *vide supra*, p. 4.

[3] See above, p. 16. and Mr. Christie's *Inquiry into the Antient Greek Game supposed to have been invented by Palamedes.* Lond. 1801, 4to.

[4] Archæologia, v. viii. p. 156.

[5] By *Benedictus Abbas*, v. *Vit. Ricard. I. ed. Hearnii*, tom. ii. p. 610. No person in the army is permitted to play at any sort of game for money, except knights and clergymen; who in one whole day and night shall not, each, lose more than twenty shillings, on pain of forfeiting one hundred shillings to the archbishop of the army. The two Kings may play for what they please; but their attendants not for more than twenty shillings, otherwise they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days, &c. And in a MS. in the Brit. Museum, Harl. 4690, Richard is described playing at Chess in this expedition:

And Kyng Rychard stode and playe,
At the Chesse in his galley.

to be, the silence of the statutes in which various games are enumerated and prohibited, but in which cards are not included, though equally objectionable with coytes, dice, &c. We may be certain, however, that they were in use some time previous to 1464, for in the Parliament Rolls[1] of that year, they are mentioned among other articles which are not to be imported: this prohibition, which was made upon the petition of the English artificers collectively, should seem to indicate that they were then manufactured here. It is remarkable that we have very few references to the game, until after the year 1500, but the practice of playing must have been very common in the reign of Henry VII. for among his private expenses, money for losses at Cards appears to have been several times issued;[2] and Margaret, the daughter of that monarch, played at Cards soon after her arrival at Edinburgh, on her marriage to James IV. of Scotland.[3] They are also mentioned in a statute of the eleventh year of the reign of Henry VII.[4] that is, in 1496.

It has been objected, that had Cards been introduced into England previous to the reign of Richard II. Chaucer, who died in 1400, would have made some mention of them;[5] yet, in speaking of amusements, he only says,

They dancen and they play at ches and tables;[6]

and this is an objection which deserves much consideration.

That Cards are mentioned in the Complaynt of Sir David Lindsay, has been already pointed out by Mr. Warton,[7] and it is sin-

[1] 4 Edw. IV. Rot. Parl. Membr. vi. among the rest are mentioned, Dyces, Tenys Balles, *Cardes for pleiying*, in contradistinction to Cardes for wolle, or whitewyre. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Nichols.

[2] Archæologia, viii. p. 136, in note.

[3] Leland's Collectanea, App. iii. p. 284. The Kynge came prively to the said castell, and entered within the chammer with a small cumpany, whare he founde the Queene *playing at* CARDES.

[4] 11 Henry VII. cap. 2.

[5] By Mr. Gough, Archæologia, *loc. cit.*

[6] Franklin's Tale, l. 11212.

[7] Hist. Eng. Poet. II. 317. An old anonymous Scotch Poem of COVETICE is also cited by Warton, in which they are mentioned. See *Anc. Sc. Poems.* from the Bannatyne MS. 12mo. Edinb. 1770, p. 168.

gular, that a knowledge of the game is mentioned as an accomplishment in the character of a bishop.

Bullet[1] has insisted that we derive our knowledge of Cards from the French nation; and he further says, it will be seen from the term Knave, which we use to designate the (Valet,) that the game was unknown to us until that term came to signify a servant. In this deduction, however, he is mistaken, for Chaucer says, of the King of Northumberland,

On hire he gat a knave childe anon;[2]

thus the word Knave seems to have signified with us a male child, or a boy servant, even in the time of Chaucer.

Among the monies issued from the Exchequer, A. D. 1300, 28 Edw. I. are some entries of money issued to his son Edward, for his use in playing at different games. Among these, however, Cards are not specified. Edward II. was then in his seventeenth year.[3]

It is also said, that if paper was necessary for the composition of Cards, England would not have furnished any in the fourteenth century, the art of paper-making not being introduced into England before the reign of Henry VII.;[4] but Cards must surely have been made of other substances: it should seem, that parchment was equally proper for the purpose; and we find the oriental Cards are painted on thin tablets of wood, or ivory.

From the whole of the evidence before us, we have only a probability that Cards were known in England soon after the second crusade, at the latter end of the thirteenth century. We have, however, certain proof that they were known here, at least, for some time previous to 1464; but whether we obtained them, in common with our neighbours, from the East, or received them from the Spa-

[1] Recherches sur les Cartes a joüer, p. 137.

[2] Man of Lawes Tale, l. 5135, see Mr. Tyrwhitt's Glossary, *in voce*.

[3] Archæologia, viii. 158. "Johanni camerario domini Edwardi fili regis pro den' per eundem lib' predicto domini suo per vices *ad ludendum ad diversos ludos* per manus proprias ibidem, 9 die. Feb. 10s."

To the same prince, March 10. "ad ludendum ad *creag'* et alios ludos per vices, 10s.

——— "ad ludendum per vices ad *aleas* et *talos*.

What *creag* was does not appear: might it not have been some game of Cards?

[4] Archæologia, *ubi supra*.

niards, Italians, or French, remains to be proved. It is very probable they were not in common use at their first introduction, but confined to the Court and houses of the great; but that they were very generally known here, early in the fifteenth century, and then played by the idle of all classes.

It has been already mentioned, that an Italian manuscript, written about the year 1299, entitled "*Trattato del Governo della Famiglia*," by *Pipozzo di Sandro*, a Florentine, contains the earliest written mention of them, not only among the Italians, but in Europe, if we except the passage in the Wardrobe Rolls of Edward I.[1] If this MS. be absolutely of the date assigned to it by Tiraboschi,[2] it not only proves the very early knowledge the Italians had of Cards, but that they were also known by the appellation of *Carte*, as well as that of *Naibi*, at this early period.

[1] Vocabolario della Crusca Venezia, 1763, t. i. p. 424. § xii. "CARTE diciamo anche a un mazzo di carte dipinte, delle quali ci serviamo per giucare. *Lat. alea charta lusoriæ.* Trat. gov. fam. *Se giucherà di danari, o cosi, o alle* CARTE, *gli apparecchierai la via, &c.*"

Afterward, in the Table of Authors, tom. v. p. 302, we find the following notice of the MS. "Trat. gov. fam. Trattato del governo della famiglia; Testo a penna, che fu del Pasciuto, e che ora parimente tra' MSS. de' Dini si conserva.* Alcuna volta abbiamo citato un altro Testo di pari antichità che si conserva tra' MSS. de' Venturi, del quale talora abbiamo addiato le pagine. The note referred to, says: "* Questo Testo è in foglio, e sembra scritto sul principio del 1400. È diviso in quattro parti per soddisfare a quattro demande, che ivi si suppongono fatte da una Madre di famiglia a un suo Direttore Spirituale. Il testo Venturi è mancante in fine. Un altro testo ne rammenta il *Redi* nelle *Annotazioni al Ditirambo* presso di se." Redi, had also quoted this MS. in proof of the invention of spectacles in Italy. As the passage is curious I will subjoin it. "*Mi truovo cosie gravoso di anni, che non arei vallenza di leggieri e servere senza vetri appellati okiali; truovati novellamente per comodita delli poveri veki, quando affiebolano del vedere.*"

[2] STORIA DELLA LETTERATURA, t. vi. P. II. p. 402. Modena, 1792. 4to. ZANI *Materiali per Servire alla Storia dell' Origine e Progressi dell' Incisione in Rame e in Legno. Parma*, 1802, 8vo. p. 79, 154, 160. In the latter passage of his book, Zani throws a doubt upon the subject of the date of the manuscript used by the compilers of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, and seems to think it is probable, that although the manuscript possessed by Redi was of the date of 1299, that the copy quoted by them was not older than the commencement of the fourteenth century. This does not appear to be a very important point, as the difference would be but that of a very few years. Zani,

The first Game known to the Italians, and which was probably played with the very Cards obtained from the Arabians, if it be not the Eastern game itself, was undoubtedly the game called *Trappola*.[1] Of this game nothing is now known, but it was probably extremely simple; it consisted of four suits, possibly like those on the first Eastern Cards: these were *Spade*, (swords,) *Coppe*, (cups, or chalices,) *Denari*, (pieces of money,) and *Bastoni*, (clubs or sticks;) each of these suits had three figured cards, *Re*, *Cavallo*, *Fante*, King, Knight, or Horseman, and Servant or Knave; which, with the six numeral cards of each suit, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, made together thirty-six cards, and formed a pack. The coincidence in point of number with the pieces at Chess, is here very striking; and if the Indian game of Chess was a *fourfold* game, which we have every reason to suppose it was, the analogy between them is complete. It should be remarked, that some packs of the Chinese cards consist also of this number; and it is probable that those in which the number is increased, are of the same nature with the more complex Indian game, and would be found to resemble the European *Tarocco*. Italian writers agree in making *Trappola* the earliest game used in Italy. *Garzoni*[2] calls it

says that what strengthens his opinion, is, the reflection that Petrarca, in his book "*de Remediis utriusque fortunæ*, in the first dialogue, speaks of *de Pilæ ludo, de ludo aleæ & calculorum, de ludo taxillorum prospero, de ludo palestrarum*, and does not in the slightest degree allude to, or mention Cards. In Book ii. Dialog. 139, "*de adverso ludo taxillorum*," he is also silent about them. Petrarca was born in 1304, and died in 1374. Hence Zani concludes, that at the time Petrarca wrote this work, Cards were not in use in Italy.

[1] TRAPPOLA is explained in the *Vocabolaria della Crusca*, by *Cosa ingennese, insidia, una sorta di rete;* and TRAPPOLATORE by *ingannatore giuntatore*. Menage derives it from Trappa: it is probably of Celtic origin. We presume its application to Cards is connected with its analogical signification.

In Silesia, according to Brietkopf, the Old Trappola Cards are still in common use among the country people. They consist of thirty-six cards, and their mutilated names betray their Italian origin; as the *Reh, Cavall, Fantell, &c.* The suits have retained the Italian names.

[2] GARZONI *Piazza Universale di Tutte le Professioni del Mondo*. Venet. 1589. "*Alcuni altri son giuochi da Taverne come la Mora, le Piastrelle, le Chiave; e le Carte, o communi, o Tarocchi di nuova inventione*, secondo il Volaterrano. *Discorso*

the common game, and *Tarocco* the new invention, and quotes the authority of Volaterano. The *Trappola* Cards, which are still in use in Italy, Spain, and Germany, at the same time they corroborate their antiquity, prove that this game, being the most ancient in Europe, passed the boundaries of Italy, and was generally played, before the other national games were invented.

The chronicle of Giovanni Morelli,[1] who began to write his work in 1393, mentions them under the denomination of *Naibi*, but considers them as a childish game. And *Temanza*[2] has adduced a cir-

de 'Giocatori in universale & in particolare, p. 564. He goes on to describe the game minutely, thus: "*ove si vedono Denari, Coppe, Spade, Bastoni, diece, nove, otto, sette, sei, cinque, quattro, tre, due, l'Asso, il Re, la Reina, il Cavallo, il Fante, il Mondo, la Giustitia, l'Angelo, il Sole, la Luna, la Stella, il Fuoco, il Diavolo, la Morte, l'Impicciato, il Vecchio, la Ruota, la Fortezza, l'Amore, il Carro, la Temperanza, il Papa, la Papessa, l'Imperatrice, l'Imperatore, il Pagatello, il Matto.*"——

[1] *Chronica di Giovanni Morelli,* first published with the "*Historia Antica di Ricordano Malespini,* by Manni, at Florence, 1718, p. 270. "*Non giuocare a Zara, nè ad altro giuoco di dadi; fa de' giuochi che usano i fanciulli; agli aliossi, alla trottola, a' ferri, a* NAIBI, *a coderdone e simili.*" There is reason to believe, although Morelli makes the *Naibi* a puerile game, that it is playing cards which are here meant by that term. If they had been only a game for children, there would not have been a necessity of preaching against, and interdicting them. *Rive* thinks, "that when Cards were first introduced into Italy, they were decried, and consequently given to children to amuse them, on account of their gay colours and grotesque figures." He adds, "But time, which unceasingly mines the barriers which manners oppose to licentiousness, insensibly led away the Italians, and inspired them with a passion for Cards." *Etrennes,* p. 30.

[2] Lettere Pittoriche, t. v. p. 320. In a letter to Count Algarotti, Temanza sends him this curious extract: "MCCCCXLI. adì xi Otubrio. Conciosia che l'arte & mestier delle carte, e figure stampide, che se fano in Venezia è vegnudo a total deffaction, e questa sia per la gran quantità de carte da zugar, e fegure depente stampide, le qual vien fate de fuora de Venezia, ala qual cosa è da meter remedio, che i diti mæstri, i quali sono assaii in fameja habiano piu presto utilidade, che i forestieri. Sia ordenado, e statuido, come anchora i diti mæstri ne ha supplicado, che da mo in avante non possa vegnir over esser condutto in questa Terra alcun lavorerio dela predicta arte, che sia stampido, o depento in tella o in carta, come sono anchone e carte da zugare, e cadaun altra lavorerio dela so arte facto a penello, e stampido, soto pena di perder i lavori condutti, &c. He extracted it from the "*Legge di catuna della Arte,*" of the Venetian artists. It should appear, that, as this curious docu ment says, the art of making Cards and printed figures had then come to decay,

cumstantial proof of their being manufactured at Venice, long previous to 1441, in which year a remonstrance was presented to the senate of that city by the Card-makers, in which they complain of "the injury they sustain by the daily importation of Cards and printed figures which are made out of Venice; by which their art is brought to total decay." And it seems that the Card-makers then formed a considerable body, which argues that the use and manufacture of Cards in Italy was not then of recent date.

Saint Bernardin of Sienna [1] is said to have preached against their

that they must have previously been in a flourishing state, and that they had flourished for a sufficient period to have created a numerous body of artists *(assai in fameja.)* The phrase *fegure depente stampide* shews that it was then the custom to colour prints, in the same manner as playing Cards; the great quantity of Cards and printed figures which were daily brought into Venice, were undoubtedly the production of the Paduans and other neighbouring States, and also of the German *Briefmahlers.*

[1] *Sermo XLII contra Alearum ludos.* Artic. III. cap. ii. p. 315. we read, "*Et idem est judicium sicut de tabulariis, ita etiam de tabellis, taxillis, taxillorum. Tertii autem participiantes suntqui fuint participes ex* NAIBIS SEU CARTICELLIS, *de quibus innumerabilia mala egrediuntur;*" and at cap. iii. p. 316, he repeats: *Sed etiam contra omnes tabularia, taxillos, & carticellas. Sicut sunt tabularia taxilli, &* CARTICELLÆ *sive* NAIBI. *Sermon S. Bernardin.* Venez. 1591, t. 1. The life of this saint is inserted in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, *Maii, Tomus quintus, Vit. I. Antiquior. Auctore Bernabæo Senensi coævo,* from which it appears that he did not begin to write his Sermons until 1440, and that on his return to Sienna, about 1430, "*ludi vero taxillorum non solum suo jussu deleti fuere, sed coram Gubernatore hujus Reipublicæ* NAIBES, *taxillos, tessera, & instrumenta in super lignea, super quæ avare irreligiosi ludi fiebant, combustos, esse præcepit.* BERNINI, in his *Istor. delle Eresie,* Venez. 1724, t. iv. p. 157, relates that St. Bernardin, preaching at Bologna, on the 5th May, 1423, against the use of Playing Cards, to which the Bolognese had been long excessively addicted, his hearers were so much moved by his sermon, that they made a fire in the public place where he was preaching, and threw all their Cards into it. The maker and painter of these Cards, weeping and lamenting, thus addressed the saint: "I have not learned, Father, any other art but that of painting Cards: if you deprive me of that, you deprive me of life, and my destitute family of the honest means of sustenance." The saint in a cheerful manner, immediately replies, "*Si nescis aliud pingere; hanc imaginem pinge, nec te omnino pingebit;*" * and thus saying and taking a little tablet, he formed a Sun with its resplendent rays, and in the midst of it, more lovely than the Sun, the name of *Jesus,* with this, at that time unused, sign IHS. The man promptly obeys the saint; and so numerous were the purchasers of the new manufacture, that he speedily became rich.

* *Sic.*

use in 1423, and it is remarkable that in the passages cited, they are mentioned under both their appellations, *Naibis seu Carticellis.* Saint Antonine,[1] archbishop of Florence, who died in 1459, also thus designates them. They are likewise mentioned in the Opuscula of Filippo Beroaldo,[2] printed in 1499. Pulci, in his *Morgante Maggiore*, alludes to Cards under the name of *Naibi.*[3] And Platina, who died in 1481, in his book "*de Honesta Voluptate*," mentions them among other games, and calls them "*Chartis variis imaginibus pictis.*

It should seem probable, that the Tarocco Cards were not introduced until some time after the Trappola, yet a Pack belonging to Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan[4] in the year

[1] Summa Theologica, fol. 1740. p. 2. cap. xxiii. col. 315. "*Circa hoc capitulum notandum primo quod ludus aleæ secundum Guillelmum intelligitur omnis ludus, qui innititur fortunæ, ut ludus taxillorum. Et idem videtur de* CHARTIS, *vel* NAIBIS, *quamvis sit ibi aliquid industriæ, principaliter tamen est fortunæ. Ludus autem scaccorum non est fortunæ; sed industriæ. . . . . Ludus etiam pilæ non est fortunæ sed exercitii.*" And further on, col. 326. *De factoribus et venditoribus alearum, & taxillorum &* CHARTARUM *seu* NAIBORUM, *fucorum sertorum seu coronarum mulierum capillorum capitis, &c.*

[2] *Declamatio lepidissima ebriosi scortatoris Aleatoris de vitiositate disceptantium.* BONON. 1499. After having said, "*inter ceteras nationes Studiosissimi tesserariæ lusionis Aleatoresque maximi Germani fuisse produntur,* he adds, *Utinam possent e vita in totam abdicari tollique tesseræ, &* CHARTULÆ LUSORIÆ, *sicuti jampridem tali sublati sunt: Et lusio talaria abdicata.*

[3] ———— gridava il Gigante
Tu se qui Re di *Naibi*, o di Scacchi,
Col mio battaglio convien ch'io t'ammacchi.
Canto 7. *Ottava* 62.

[4] TIRABOSCHI, *Stor. della. Letterat.* t. vi. p. 1196. ZANI *Materiali, &c.* p. 185. The account is taken from the "*Vita Philippi Maria Vicecomitis Mediolanensium Ducis Tertii, Autore Petro Candido.* Cap. lxi. p. 33. *Mediolani apud M. Malatestæ*, 1630. This life is also printed in the *Rer. Italic. Script.* of MURATORI, vol. xx. p. 986, 1019. the passage is as follows: "Variis etiam ludendi modis ab adolescentia usus est; nam modo pila se exercebat, nunc folliculo: *plerumque eo ludi genere, qui ex imaginibus depictis fit,* in quo præcipue oblectatus est adeo ut integrum eorum ludum mille & quingentis aureis emerit, auctore vel in primis Martiani Derthonensi ejus Secretario, qui *Deorum imaginis,* subjectasque his *animalium figuras, & avium* miro ingenio, summaque industria perfecit." From the description here given of these Cards, and the very great sum of 500 Gold Scudi paid for them, we may imagine that they were among the choicest specimens of art at that period: the *Deorum imagines,* and the *animalium & avium figuras,* should seem to indicate that they were of the species called Tarocchi.

1430, appear, from the description of them, to have been of the former species. The *Trappola* game is said to have been represented in an illumination of a MS. book of Offices,[1] executed for Alfonso III. of Ferrara, before the year 1500; and *Tarocco* in a Fresco picture, painted by Niccolo dell 'Abate in the institute at Bologna, where four soldiers are represented playing. This picture must have been painted between 1540 and 1550; at which time another proof exists, that *Tarocco* was commonly played, in a poem, under the title of an Invective against the game, published in 1550.[2]

But that Cards were commonly used in Italy, and various games played with them at an early period of the fifteenth century, is proved by the express mention Lorenzo de Medici makes of them, in a *Canzone* printed among the *Canti Carnascialeschi;*[3] in which the games of Basset, *(la Bassetta,)* and the Flush, *(il Frusso,)* are also mentioned: and the latter is said to be in daily use among the country people. These *Canzoni* are known to have been youthful compositions of Lorenzo, who died in 1492, at the age of forty-four. We may, therefore, safely infer that as Cards were then in common

[1] Bettinelli *Il Giuoco delle Carte Pocmetta,* Canto ii. note 13. "A me non venne scoperto monumento di ciò più antico di una miniatura d' uffizio ecclesiastico nella Estense, in cui son chiaramente dipinte le carte italiane, e comuni di coppe, spade, bastoni, al tempo d' Alfonso III. Duca di Ferrara, cioè poco dopo il 1500. E di quella pittura a fresco, che si vede in Bologna nel Palagio del Istituto, la qual rappresenta in un fregio quattro soldati giuocanti alle carte; e quelle sono appunto, come le usate oggidì nel Tarocco. Or Niccolò dall' Abate dipinse colà per mio credere tra il 1540, e il 1550. Sicchè da dugento, e più anni non si è fatta mutazione in cosa, che par di sua natura sì leggera,, e sì mutabile.

[2] *Invettiva contra il Giuoco del Tarocco di* Flavio Alberto Lollio 8vo. *Venezia per Gabriel Giolito,* 1550. I have not been fortunate enough to meet with this poem.

[3] *Canti Carnascialeschi. Cosmopoli* (Florence) 1780, 2 v. 8vo. Canto de' Bericuocolaj, t. i. p. 7.

Convien giucare e spender buon quattrini.
Noi abbiam carte a fare alla Bassetta,
E convien che l' un alza a l' altra metta;
Poi di quà e di là spesso si getta,
Le Carte, e tira a te, se tu indovini.
O tre, o quattro, o sotto, o sopra chiedi,
— — — — — —
Questa Basseta e spacciativa giuoco
E ritto ritto fassi in ogni loco
— — — — — —
E sola ha questa mal ch ei dura poco
— — — — — —
Il Frussi ci è ch' è un giuoco maladetto
— — — — — —
Ma lo fanno oggi infino a Contadini.

use, and a variety of games played with them, they must have been known among the Italians at a much earlier period.

In the year 1526, a curious volume was printed at Rome, containing the celebrated Berni's *Capitolo* on the game of *Primiera*, with a facetious mock commentary by some wit, styling himself Messer Pietropaulo da San Chirico.[1] In the course of this com-

[1] *Capitolo del Gioco della Primiera col commento di Messer Pietropaulo da San Chirico. Stampata in Roma nell anno.* M.D.XXVI. *per F. Mintio Calvo*, 4to. The volume is extremely rare; the copy before me is from the Pinelli collection; another is among the treasures of Italian literature, possessed by R. Wilbraham, Esq. The Poem without the commentary has been several times printed in the collections of *Poesie Burlesche*, and among the works of Berni; but of the commentary, the edition here cited is, I believe, the only one. *Messer Paolo da San Chirico*, was probably *Francesco Berni* himself: it is remarkable that *Rolli*, who published a collection of these *Capitoli Burlesche*, Lond. 1721-3. 2 v. 8vo. and who has written a few notes on the very Poem in question, in conjunction with *Salvini*, seems not to have known such a book was in existence. I shall here give the passages referred to above, in the words of their author. The games at Cards mentioned are besides *Primero*, *Bassetta*, *Cricca*, *Trionfi*, *Trionfi-piccoli*, *il Flusso*, *Trentuno*, *Noviera*, *Sestiera*, *Quintiera*, and *Ronfa*. "Un altra piu piacevolone di costui per intrattenere un poco piu la festa, et dar piacere alla brigata, a guardare le dipinture, ha trovato che TAROCCHI sono un bel gioco, et pargli essere in regno suo quando ha in mano un numero di dugento carte che a pena le puo tenere, et per non essere appostato le mescola cosi il meglio che puo sotto la tavola, viso proprio di Tarocco colui a chi piace questo gioco, che altro non vuol dir Tarocco che ignocco, sciocco, balocco degno di star fuor fornari e calzolari et plebei a giocarse in tutto di un Carlino in quarto a Tarocchi, o a Trionfi, o a Sminchiate che si sia, che ad ogni modo tutto importa minchioneria et dapocagine, pascendo l'occhio col Sole, et con la Luna et col Dodici come fanno i puti. *Sig. D.*

—— di chi ne fusse l'inventore, o di chi la illustrasse primamente, poca certezza si ha, ne è quella poca, confirmata per autorita di fede degni, alcuni dicono del Magnifico Lorenzo de Medici et raccontano non so che novella d'una Badia la quale perche in verita l'opera non merita il pregio et io ne potrei narrandola, haver cosi mal grado come buono, lascero cercare a piu curiosi, altri vogliono che il Re Ferrando di Napoli, quello che tanto magnificamente opero la trovasse, altri il Re Mattia Unghero, molti la Reina Isabella, certi altri il gran Siniscalco. In breve perche questa osservatione è cosi superflua come la prima, lasceremo medesimamente trovare a chi desidera sapere quanti barili de vino desse Aceste ad Enea, o come havesse nome la balia d'Anchise et cotali altre curiosita peggio che quelle dell' ovo et della gallina. Io per me se ne fussi domandato direi che ella è stata sempre, et sara sempre, et sono d' opinione che non le carte la trovassero ma ella trovasse le carte. *Sig. A. ii. rev.*

mentary, the game, its laws, and the mode of playing it, are fully explained; and it is put in comparison with other games then in use. Nine or ten different games at Cards are enumerated, to all of which the commentator prefers the game of Primero. But what also is an important feature in this singular little book, is the mention which is made of the *Tarocchi*. "Another," says he, "as more pleasing, prolonging the entertainment, and giving pleasure to the company in looking at the paintings, has found that the *Tarocchi* are an excellent game; and he seems to be in his glory, when he has in hand to the number of two hundred cards, which he can scarcely hold, and which, not to be overlooked, he shuffles as well as he can under the table. Let him look to it, who is pleased with the game of *Tarocco*, that the only signification of this word *Tarocco*, is stupid, foolish, simple, fit only to be used by Bakers, Coblers, and the vulgar, to play at most for the fourth part of a *Carlino*, at *Tarocchi*, or at *Trionfi*, or any *Sminchiate* whatever: which in every way signifies only foolery and idleness, feasting the eye with the Sun, and the Moon, and the twelve *(signs)* as children do." We shall have occasion again to recur to this interesting volume, it will therefore be merely necessary here to observe, that the number of games enumerated, and the circumstance of many of them being mentioned as only fit to be played by the vulgar, surely establishes it beyond doubt, that Cards must have been long known in Italy. Indeed, in one instance, the commentator attributes the invention of the game of *Ronfa* to King Ferdinand; and in another place, speaking of Cards, he says humourously, "We have but little certainty who was the inventor, or who, in the first instance, developed the game, nor is that little confirmed by authority to be relied on. Some say it was Lorenzo de Medici the Magnificent, and relate I know not what tale of an Abbot: the which truly, for that the affair is not worth the trouble, and I cannot relate it, be it well or ill done, I have thus left to be sought by the more curious. Others will have it, that Ferdinand of Naples, he who so distinguished himself, was the inventor. Others Matthias, King of Hungary; many the Queen Isabella;

some the Grand Seneschal. In short, because this observation is as superfluous as the first, we shall leave the search to those who are desirous of knowing how many barrels of wine Acestes gave to Æneas; or what was the name of Anchises' nurse; and the like curiosities, worse than the Egg and the Chicken: for my part, were I asked, I should say that they ever were, and ever will be: and I am of opinion that they did not find the Cards, but that the Cards found them."

Some Italians writers[1] have placed the invention of the game of *Tarocco* during the period of the civil dissensions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and have even said, the figures on the *Tarocchi* relate to events which took place in Italy at that period. It does not appear that there is solid foundation for this assertion, and if the figures on those Cards have any relation to such historical events, it surely cannot have been the modern *Tarocchi*, which these writers have alluded to. It should seem from a passage in *Garzoni's*[2] description of what he calls the new-invented game of *Tarocco*, that he only alludes to an alteration of the suits in the cards used at it: this was the adoption of the French, *Pique*, *Coeur*, *Trefle*, and *Carreaux*, instead of the Italian or Spanish suits of *Spade*, *Coppe Denari*, and *Bastoni;* and thus Volaterrano's evidence, which he adduces, may have only related to a change in the form of the game, and not to the invention of it. Perhaps also the figures of the *Tarocchi* themselves were changed, according to the fancy of the different fabricators of them: other alterations have taken place, and the game of *Minchiate* has the number of the *Tarocchi* increased to forty, and with the fool, *(il Matto)* to forty-one: of these, thirty-five are numbered, the remaining five unnumbered ones are called

[1] In the notes to the Poem of *Bertuldo con Bertuldino*, written in the Bolognese dialect, and printed at Bologna in 1736, 4to. it is said of this game, "trovarvisi dentro semi di buon fine, e di scelta erudizione, e *il Ginerbelti* ne scrisse la storia, ed origine, facendo vedere, che i Tarrocchini non sono altro, se non la tragica facenda de *Geremei Guelfi, e Lambertazzi Ghibellini*, così il *Valdemusi da Prusilio* ne distese la varia fortuna." p. 98.

[2] Garzoni loc. cit. He continues his description by observing, "e con le carte fine, Cuori, Fiori e la Picche dove che si guoca à Tarocchi, à Primiera, a Trionfiti, a Trapolla, alla Bassetta, e altri simili.

Arie, and distinguished as the five highest cards: these are the Sun, Moon, Star, World, and Fame; the whole number of the pack is ninety-seven; the forty-one figured cards are called *Tarocchi*, the fifty-two cards of the four suits, *Cartiglie;* and at Munich they have increased the number of Cards to one hundred and three in this game, by doubling the twenty-one Tarocchi, the fool, and the Ace, King, and Knave of hearts. The *Minchiate* appears to be only another name for the *Tarocchi*, and both games are still played in Italy. In a future page we shall have occasion to revert to them, and they will then be more fully described.

It has been shewn that Cards were known in the southern provinces of France about the year 1361,[1] and it is supposed that it was the Eastern or Trappola game. Another account, however, places the invention of them in France, to the year 1392; from the circumstance of fifty-six sous having been paid to Jacquemin Grín-gonneur, a painter, for three packs *(Jeux)* of Cards, for the amusement of Charles VI. during his unfortunate mental incapacity.[2] Bullet has used much ingenuity to shew that they were invented in France, during the reign of Charles V.; but it appears that they were known there as early as the year 1341;[3] there is no question, however, but that Cards were then painted, and not printed: consequently, it is probable that they were not in general use, but confined to the court and higher classes. Guillaume de Machau,[4] in

[1] *Supra*, p. 3.

[2] Menestrier Biblioth. Curieuse et Instructive, t. ii. p. 174. 12mo.

The circumstance is taken from a MS. Account Book of Ch. Poupart, Treasurer to Charles VI. in which is the following entry. "Donné à Jacquemin Gringonneur Peintre pour trois jeux de Cartes à or & à diverses couleurs, de plusieurs devises pour porter devers ledit Seigneur Roi, pour son ebatement, cinquante-six sols parisiis."

[3] Jansen Hist. de la Gravure, t. i. p. 99. *v. supra, p.* 3.

[4] Bullet Recherches, p. 16.

Garde te, ami, qu' aux Dex ne joue
Et que pas ton temps ni aloue;
Car c'est chose trop deshonneste,
A Prince qui quiert vie honneste:
Car il ne vient pas de franchise
Eins est fondé sur convoitise;
Et si monstre on si sa manière
Que maint en parle en derrière.
Mais s'un petit ti wes esbattre.
Joue xx gros ou xxiiii
A Dames & à Pucelettes
De cuer & de pensees nettes:

a poem entitled *Confort d'Amy*, addressed to Charles V. the year he ascended the throne, (1364,) inveighs against Dice, but does not mention Cards; which he would probably have done, had they been known to him, as the reason he adduces for interdicting Dice, would have equally operated against Cards.

The game of Piquet appears to have been invented in the reign of Charles VII. It has been said that its invention took its rise from a Ballet danced at the court of that Monarch;[1] but it seems quite as probable, that this game furnished the device for the Ballet, as it has done at a later period.[2] At all events the origin of the figures may be attributed to very different causes; the whole arrangement of them shews that they were modelled after the Eastern or Trappola Cards, only filling up the chasm in the numbers, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Although we must entirely differ in opinion from those who have attributed the invention of Cards to the French nation at this period,[3] yet it should seem, that about this time, the figures and

Et si tu gaignes leur argent
Donne le tantost à leur gent
Et li tien aussi sans plus dire:
Et si tu pers n'en fais que rire.

[1] Daniel, Memoires de Trevoux, 1720, p. 934.

[2] En 1676, on representa sur le Theatre de l'Hotel de Guinegaud une Comedie de Thomas Corneille en cinq actes, intitulée *le Triomphe des Dames*, qui n'a point été imprimée, et dont le Ballet du Jeu de Piquet etoit un des Intermedes. Les quatres Valets parurent d'abord, avec leurs hallebardes, pour faire place; ensuite les Rois arriverent successivement, donnant la main aux dames dont la queue etoit portée par quatre Esclaves: le premier de ces Esclaves representoit la Paume; le second, le Billard; le troisiéme les Dez; le quatrieme le Trictrac. Le Rois, les Dames, & les Valets, apres avoir formé, par leurs danses, des tierces & des quatorzes; & apres s'etre rangés, tous les noirs d'un coté & les rouges de l'autre finirent par un contredanse où toutes les couleurs étoient mêlées confusement & sans suite. *Theatre Francoise*, t. ii. p. 472. Menestrier was, I think, the author of a curious volume, entitled "*Des Ballets Anciens et Modernes*. Paris 1682. 12mo." in which this Ballet is referred to; but he has not there thrown out any idea upon the origin of the game of Piquet. It is said that while the English were in possession of Paris and half his kingdom, Charles VII. shewed La Hire the preparations for an intended Ballet, asking his opinion of them. Upon which La Hire answered, By my faith, Sire, I think it is impossible to lose a kingdom more gaily.

[3] This opinion of the origin of Cards in France, seems to have taken its rise with Menestrier, who is followed by Daniel and Bullet, from which sources all the later

suits of the original Cards underwent a change, and that those which are now in general use were then adopted. According to an explanation which has been given of the figures, the Queen of Spades, which on the French Cards is named *Pallas*, was meant to represent Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans: if this was the case, and it was intended as a tribute to her memory, the adoption must of course have been after the year 1421, in which she rendered them such signal service, and probably before the close of the reign of Charles VII. who died in 1461. The arguments used by Bullet[1] to establish the fact of their invention in France in the reign of Charles V. are deduced from the objects represented on them, from the names and costume given to the French Court cards, and from the negative proof of finding no previous mention of them. His presumption from the use of the Fleur de lis[2] upon them has been already answered: the names of the figured cards seem to have been of later invention. The King of Spades, *(Pique,)* bears the name of *David;* that of Clubs *(Trefle,)* the name of *Alexander;* that of Hearts *(Coeurs,) Charlemagne;* and that of Diamonds *(Carreaux,)* the name of *Cesar:* the Knave of Spades is called *Ogier;* that of Clubs, *Lancelot;* that of Hearts, *la Hire;* and that of Diamonds, *Hector.* The Queens are also named in like manner: the Queen of Spades is named *Pallas;* of Clubs, *Argine;* of Hearts, *Judic;* and of Diamonds, *Rachel.*[3] Daniel, in his

French writers have copied their accounts, and they have been implicitly followed by most writers of other nations who have had occasion to mention the subject.

[1] Recherches sur les Cartes a Joüer, *passim.*

[2] *Supra,* p. 4. Bullet has also given the invention of the Magnetic Compass to the French, from the circumstance of the Fleur de lis being generally found at the Northern extremity of the index. His supposition, however, has better grounds of probability; he has given a curious passage from the *Tesoretto of Brunetto Latini,* which he composed at Paris in 1260, wherein this instrument is clearly designated; and another from Guyot de Provins, who lived about 1200, in which it is mentioned and called a *Marinette. Recherches,* p. 42.

[3] Some French Cards which I possess, and which appear to be of the seventeenth century, have inscribed on the King of Hearts, *Charle,* and not *Charlemagne;* and on the Knave of Clubs *Angoulesme,* instead of *Lancelot.* This would seem more

Dissertation on the Game of Piquet,[1] has conjectured that the four Queens are intended to represent four principal female characters in the reign of Charles VII.; the Queen of Spades, *Pallas*, goddess of war and wisdom, the only one of the first order, who persevered in observing the strictest celibacy; he thinks strikingly allusive to the Maid of Orleans, in whom these three attributes of the goddess, martial character, wisdom, and chastity, are found united; Charles VII. he says, probably out of gratitude for the services received at her hands, gave her a place in this military game. The Queen of Clubs, is called *Argine*, which he conceives to be the Anagram of *Regina*, and therefore to represent Mary of Anjou, wife of Charles VII. *Rachel* is the Queen of Diamonds, who appears from the Scriptures to have been celebrated for her beauty; and therefore, he thinks, chosen to represent Charles's mistress *Agnes Sorel*, who was called the Lady of Beauty, from a castle upon the Marne which he gave her, in gallant allusion to her personal charms. *Judith*, the Queen of Hearts, he thinks, was intended to represent Isabel of Bavaria, mother to Charles VII. and wife of Charles VI. and to establish the supposition, he draws an ingenious historical parallel between her, and the Empress Judith, wife of Louis the Debonnair.

Bullet allows this explanation to be very plausible, but says it suffers some very material difficulties; he thinks it is not to be supposed that a Christian heroine would have been designated by an Heathen Deity: or that Rachel should have been chosen to represent *Agnes Sorel*. He says it is also improbable that Mary of Anjou, Queen to Charles VII. would have been placed in the game on a level with *Joan of Arc* and *Agnes Sorel*. The names *Argine* and *Judic* gave rise to a conjecture in his mind, that as these words are only to be found in the *Breton* language, in which *Argine* signifies the

strongly to indicate the reign of Charles VII. as the period at which the Cards were thus named.

[1] *Memoires de Trevoux*, 1710, p. 934. He says the invention cannot be traced further than the time of Charles VII. about 1430. This monarch, properly speaking, cannot be said to have commenced his reign until that year; for the Duke of Bedford was regent, and Henry VI. had been acknowledged King, after the death of Charles VI.

Beautiful, and *Judic*, *Queen-twice*.[1] Anne of Brittany, who was successively Queen of Charles VIII. and Louis XIII. was intended to have been represented both by the Queen of Clubs and of Hearts: he dwells on her character with delight, and cites numerous passages from cotemporary writers in proof of her beauty and various merits as a Queen and mother of her people, but he adduces nothing like proof of his conjecture.

Charles VII. is said, by Daniel, to have been meant by *David*, which is the name of the King of Spades: and he draws a kind of parallel between them. To this Bullet demurs, and says that the Kings on the French Cards represent those monarchs only, by whose names they are designated, and the game being military, four warlike monarchs have been chosen. Every game may be considered a species of combat, and that of Cards has most particularly the appearance; we find Kings, and those renowned for military prowess, emblematic of the chiefs of armies; the Knaves, *(Valets)* symbolical of the vassals of feudal times, in whom consisted the principal strength of the state. The other cards seem to refer properly to the residue of the people of whom the armies were composed; the Queen appears to have been introduced into the game by the gallantry of the French, and was probably derived from them, and introduced by the Italians and Spaniards in the more complex game of *Tarocco*. Bullet, who has been reproached with his attempt to deduce every word from a *Bas-Breton* or *Celtic* origin, has given explanations of the terms *Dame*, *Valet*, according to his favourite system;[2] and he does not

[1] *Ar* article La: *Gin* Belle. *Jud* Reine: *Dyc* Deux foix. *Recherches*, 103.

[2] "Dame est une terme Francois: il vient du Celtique *Dam*, qui signifioit personne distinguée de l'un ou de l'autre sexe: *Sieur, Seigneur, Dame*, on trouve souvent dans nos vieux Livres, *Dame Diex*, pour *Seigneur Dieu*. Les paysans en quelques endroits de Franche-Comté disent *Oui Dame*, pour *Oui Monsieur*. Ce mot est encore en usage dans son composé *Vidame* le Vidame d'Amiens, le Vidame de Chartres." In a note on this passage Bullet has cited many of the earlier French writers as authorities; and he says, the ancient chronicles have indifferently *Damp, Dan, Dam, Dant*. Of *Dam* comes the diminutives *Damoisel, Damoiseau*, which formerly signified *Seigneur*, and he adduces numerous instances from the French chroniclers. Edward the Black prince is styled *Damoisel* by Froissart. But it must be con-

entirely agree with Daniel in making *Hector*, *Lancelot*,[1] *Ogier*, and *la Hire*, intended for personages of distinction in the annals of France.

He imagines, but without foundation, that the Spaniards derived Cards from France by the way of Biscay, and sustains his hypothesis by the supposition that the word *Naipes* is of Basque origin;

fessed, that a more probable and obvious origin of the word, may be found in the Latin *Dominus*.

Valet et un mot François. *Was* en Celtique signifie général un homme de service comme il y a deux genres de services, l'un qui se rend dans la maison & pour les affaires domestiques; l'autre qui se rend au dehors & dans les armées; le mot *Was* jusqu'au neuviéme siécle a signifié indifferement des domestiques & des gens de guerre. Depuis ce temps il ne s'est pris que dans ce dernier sens jusqùau regne de François I. On ne soudoyoit point autrefois ceux qui composoient les armées, ainsi qu' on le fait aujour-d'hui. Le Prince ou le seigneur donnoit une terre ou fief à charge du service militaire. Celui qui à raison de cette terre ou fief, étoit tenu de venir à l'armée, s'apelloit *Vas*, ou *Vassal*. Comme il n'y avoit alors que ces Vassaux qui portassent les armes, on les nomma aussi *Milites*, Guerriers. Lorsqu' on eut institué la chevalerie, on qualifia *Chevaliers*, ceux de ces Vassaux qui l'avoient reçue: & en appella *Vaslets*, *Vaselets*, *Varlets*, *Vallez*, les fils des Vassaux, des plus grands Seigneurs, des Souveraines même, qui n'avoient pas encore été armés *Chevaliers*. On donnoit aussi a ces Valets le nom d'Ecuyers, *Scutarii*; parce qu'ils portoient l'ecu ou bouclier du Chevalier, auquel ils s'attachoient pour faire leurs premieres armes. Dans les dernieres années du regne de Charles V. *Varlet* ou *Valet* se prenoit pour Ecuyer & pour domestique. Ce terme a present ne signifie plus qu' un serviteur.

As, nom d'une des Cartes, n'a de signification qui puisse convenir a ce jeu en aucun langue qu'en Celtique, ou il signifie, commencement, premier. C'est effectivement pour ce nombre que l' *As* est mis. *Recherches*, &c. 57. Here again, misled by his prejudice in favour of Celtic origins, Bullet has asserted what is not correctly true. The Roman *As*, is as much expressive of unity, as his pretended Celtic term can be, and it was most probably from this source, the name of the card was derived. The term *Valettus*, was also in use among the Latin writers of the middle ages, under the same acceptation with the French word *Valet*.

[1] Hector, according to Daniel, represents *Hector de Galard* Captain of the Guard to Louis XI. Bullet thinks the son of Priam is meant, from whom, through his son Astyanax, by them called *Francion*, the writers of the eleventh and five following centuries make the Kings of France descend in a right line; and he says, "On some old Cards we read *Hector de Troye*, *Lancelot du Lac*, *Ogier*, and *la Hire*." "*Ogier*, is not deemed a fabulous personage; his tomb is still existing in the church of the monastery of *St. Faron*, at *Meaux*. *La Hire* is the famous *Etienne de Vignolles*, who contributed so much by his valour to re-establish the tottering throne of Charles VII. He was surnamed *La Hire*.

but it seems more probable that the French derived the knowledge of them from the Spaniards, if they did not derive them from the oriental hordes already mentioned. It is to be presumed, that until Cards were multiplied by other means than painting them by hand, they could not be very generally disseminated among all ranks of the community; but that they were in use among the higher classes of society in France, previous to the reign of Charles VI. in which their invention has been laid, cannot be doubted. It is most probable that Cards, when first introduced into that nation, had the Eastern or *Trappola* suits, which, the Italians and Spaniards alone, have still retained on those in common use among them. The change of the suits may have taken its rise in France, but much licence has been also used by the Germans in the adoption of flowers, plants, and animals, instead of these objects. The Piquet pack is supposed by Breitkopf[1] to have originally consisted, like the common pack, of fifty-two; but it will be remembered that the old *Trappola* Cards had but thirty-six in the pack.

Although it does not appear in the least likely that the Spaniards invented Cards, and though we must abandon the fable of the name of the inventor, unsupported as it is by authority of sufficient weight, yet that they were very early acquainted with them is in a high degree probable. The character of their two principal national games, *Ombre* and *Quadrille*, demonstrates that they took their rise in a chivalric age. The Spaniards have continued to use the term *Naipes*, and have not, like the Italians, adopted the word *Carte* Ombre also is played in France with these Spanish Cards, and there is some reason to think this was the case in England on its first introduction. A traveller in Spain, in the early part of the sixteenth century, represents the people as passionately fond of Cards,[2] and

[1] Den Urnsprung der Spielkarten, p. 32.

[2] A Flemish author, (Eckeloo,) who flourished about 1540, and had travelled in France, Italy and Spain, published a treatise "*de Aleu*," under the feigned name of *Pascasius Justus*; in which he describes the Spaniards, in his time, as most passionately addicted to gaming.—"Hispani homines omnium quos novi et maximè ludunt, et naturâ ad ludum maxime propensi."—and again, "Jam diu longè latèque Hispanias lustranti mihi sæpè con-

says that " he has travelled many leagues in that kingdom without being able to procure the necessaries of life, not even bread or wine, but that in every miserable village, Cards were to be bought." They appear to have carried their passion for this game with them to the New World, and they are represented to have fabricated them of the leaves of a tree, and even of leather.[1]

It appears from some Dialogues written for the use of school-boys by *Vives*,[2] a Spaniard who died in 1541, that both Spanish and French Cards were in use in the Netherlands at the period he wrote, as he distinguishes them by the suits represented on them, and that the Spanish Cards had no tens in the pack: the game described by him, is that called *Trionfo*, or Triumph. And in another volume of Latin Dialogues, written about the same period, and printed at Antwerp in 1533, we find French Cards in use; and it is remarkable, that

tigit, ut cùm multis locis nihil eorum quæ ad victum faciunt, non panem, non vinum invenire possent; tamen nunquam Castellum aut vicum ullum adeò abjectum et obscurum transire potui, in quo non cartulæ vænirent." *Pascas. Justus de Alea*, p. 40, 41. *Edit. Elzev.* 1642. 18mo.

[1] Hist. Generale des Voyages, tom. xlvi. p. 180.

De la Vega, Historia de la Conquista de Florida. This circumstance is also pointed out by Matthioli, in his Comment on Dioscorides,—" Idem et *Copey* in Hispaniola folio duplo majore et crassiore refert quibus pro *Chartis Lusoriis* Hispani utebantur." *Matthioli Opera.* Basil 1674, p. 139.

[2] There are several editions of this book; the one I quote from was printed at Lyons in 1572, 8vo. accompanied by a French translation. I will here give the passage alluded to in French, as a large extract from the Dialogue in Latin, will find a place in the Appendix.

" *Lupianus.* Voila deux paires de cartes entieres, l'une est d'Espagne, l'autre de France. *Valdaura.* Celles d'Espagne ne semble pas bonne.—*Lup.* Pourquoy ? *Val.* Parceque les dix y defaillent. *Lup.* Les Espagnols n'ont pas accoustumé d'en avoir comme les François: car les cartes d'Espagne aussi bien que les Françoises sont divisées en quatre bandes: les Espagnols ont des Monnoyes dorées, des Coupes, des Bastons, des Espées: les Françoises ont des Coeurs, des Quarreaux, des Trefles & des Pales (ou Picques.) En un chacun famille y a le Roi, la Roine, le Chevalier, l'un, le deux, le trois, le quatre, le cinq, le six, le sept, le huit, le neuf. Les Françoises ont aussi le dix: Et aux Espagnols les Escus & les Tasses sont de plus grand valeur en petit nombre: au contraire sont les Espées et Bastons: Et aux François le plus est tousjours le meilleur."—One of the interlocutors also asks in which way he shall deal, from left to right, in the Dutch manner: or from right to left, in the Spanish fashion ?

the suit of Diamonds, *(Carreaux,)* are called by this writer *Denarii*, and Spades, *(Piques,) Ligones*.[1] It has been already mentioned, that they were prohibited by an edict of John I. King of Castile in 1387.[2] This prohibition, far from having diminished the frequency of their use, served only to render the passion for them more violent, and it was again found necessary in the next century for the government to interfere. Ferdinand V. called the Catholic, who ascended the throne in 1474, promulgated more severe laws and penalties against Card-players.[3]

Herrera[4] mentions, that upon the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, Montezuma took great pleasure in seeing them play at Cards; this was in the year 1519, and it shews that this amusement must, for some time previous, have been common in Old Spain; Charles V. in 1518 succeeded to the crown of that kingdom, as well as to the new conquests and treasures of the Western World, whilst his other most extensive dominions made his monarchy nearly universal; it is not therefore extraordinary that games, and gaming in general, should at this time have been very prevalent in a nation, then at its meridian of splendour and greatness.

The Spanish Pack consists, like the German, of forty-eight cards only, the tens in the former, and the aces in the latter, being omitted. The Arabic word *Naipes*, by which they still continue to be named, has already been sufficiently noted.[5] Their suits are similar to those of the Italians, and are what we have already called the *Trappola*

[1] Dialogi LXIII. per Hadrianum Barlandum.—et Augustinii Reymarii Dialogus unus de Ludo Chartarum. *Antverpiæ*, 1534. 8vo. *Rex* pro ternione habetur. *Regina* dualis instar esto, *Pedissequus* monada, Unariæ Chartulæ ende cada, Denariæ decada Valeto. Unus et trigessimus numerus ludum absolvito. The names of the suits are thus given, Diamonds, *Denarii;* Clubs, *Trifoliorum;* Spades, *Ligones;* Hearts, *Corda*. The game appears to have been what the Italians call *Trentuna*, or Thirty-one, and the Cards a full French Piquet pack.

[2] Supra, p. 6.

[3] The passage from *Marineus Siculus* is very curious, and will be found in the Appendix, as given by *Thiers Traité des Jeux et Divertissements*. Paris, 1686, 8vo. p. 186.

[4] Herrera Hist. de la Ind. dec. 8. lib. 7. c. 8.

[5] Supra, p. 7.

Suits, and presumed of Eastern origin: they are named in Spanish *Espadas*, *Copas*, *Oros*, and *Bastos*.[1] Like the Italians and Germans, they have no Queen in the Pack; the figured cards are the *Rey*, *Caballo*, *Sota*,[2] representing a King, Horseman, and Servant.

Cervantes, in the second part of Don Quixote,[3] in the Dialogue

[1] *Cobarruvias* says, "We call one of the four suits at Cards *Bastones*, or *Bastos*, *(Clubs,)* on which we have given the representation of that object. It is well known that games, which consist in conquering and being conquered, have a warlike semblance, as the games of Chess, Tables, and others, and particularly the game of Cards. For this reason four objects have been represented on them, which produce the most hurtful and mortal effects to mankind. The first is Swords, by which men are drawn into open danger; and, notwithstanding these arms are of iron, not less dangerous are those of gold, *(Oros,)* since for gold, so many murders and robberies have taken place in the world. And Ovid says justly,

Ferro nocentius Aurum.

Clubs were the second weapons used by men, for they succeeded fists, *(Puñadas)* from whence proceeds the term *(Pugna,)* Combat; and Clubs, *(Bastones,)* and Bludgeons, *(Porras,)* are the same weapon, for they both terminate in the form of a leek: from whence the term *(porrazos)* blows, and *(Apporease)* to cudgel. Swords followed, which have destroyed such millions of the human species. Yet I demur in respect to Cups *(Copas,)* which seem to have been invented rather to give life than death; but see what is said in Ecclesiastes, c. xxxvii. *Propter crapulam multi obierunt.* And we have brawls and quarrels in our Cups, and many have died in these frays; over them also we settle our differences and compromise our disputes, &c." *Tesoro della Leng. Castell. in voce Baston.*

[2] Sota es una de las figuras de los Naypes que representa el infante, o el Soldado: dixose Sota de Soto, porque està debaxo del Rey, y del Cauallo, y assi dezimos sota comitre, y sota cavallerico, &c. *Tesoro, de Cobarruvias, in voce.*

I have given this explanation of the name of the *Sota*, because it will be found to agree with the other European names in its import; the French *Valet*, the English *Knave*, the Italian *Fante*, the German *Knecht*, have the same signification in their respective languages. *Fante*, *Infante*, *Valet*, *Knave*, and *Knecht*, all formerly signified a male servant, or underling, among other significations. The Germans call this card *Unter*, or *Unterman*, and the superior card, (the *Caballo* in Spanish,) *Ober*, or *Oberman*. It should here be observed, that in all the Packs of *Tarocco* Cards that I have seen, the Queen is added to each suit, thus making the Pack, exclusive of the *Tarocchi*, to consist of fifty-six cards.

[3] I will here extract the passage from Don Quixote in the original, of which no existing translation gives an adequate idea, and it will perhaps please the lover of Spanish literature to be spared the trouble of reference.

"La tercera entender la antiguedad de los *Naypes*, que per lo menos ya se usaban en tiempo, del Emperador Carlo Magno, segun puede colegirse de las palabras que vuesa merced dice que dixo Durandarte, paciencia y barajar; y esta razon y modo de hablar no lo pudo aprender encantado, sino quando no lo estaba en Francia y

between the Licentiate and his Hero, has with exquisite ironical humour ridiculed inquiries like this in which we are here engaged, and makes the Scholar draw an inference from a proverbial expression derived from *Barajar*,[1] which signifies to shuffle the Cards, that they must have been known in the time of Charlemagne, because Durandarte is said by Don Quixote to have used the phrase in the Cave of Montesinos.

The migration of Cards from Italy to Germany may be presumed with some degree of certainty. The vicinity of the two nations, and the frequency of intercourse between them, renders it likely that early in the thirteenth century, they found their way into that country, and this is in some degree corroborated by the mention made of them in the German book *Das Guldin Spiel*, already quoted.[2] A conjecture of the means by which they may have been introduced is afforded in the history of that period: for about

en tiempo del referido Emperador Carlo Magno; y esta averiguacion me viene pintaparada para el otro libro que voy componiendo, que es *Supplemento de Virgilio Polidoro en la invencion de los antiguedades*, y creo que en el suyo no se acordo de poner los de las *Naypes*, como la pondre y ahora que sera de mucha importancia; y mas alegando autor tan grave y tan verdadero, como es el Señor Durandarte." Parte II. cap. xxiv.

[1] In a note to this passage, (*Paciencia y barajar*, Patience and shuffle the Cards.) Pellicer says, "The ironical manner in which the author here speaks of the origin of Cards, is plainly seen. Of the same stock, and from the same source, came that which was current, in the seventeenth century, among the Andalusian gamesters. Respecting their inventor, who was supposed to be a certain countryman, there were three opinions; some said that he was a Frenchman, because the first Cards came from France into Spain; others that he was a Fleming, on account of the invention of the game of Cent, (*los Cientos,*) by the ladies of that province; and others that he was a native of Madrid, and that having there lost his all, he took his way toward Seville, with an intention of seeing that city: that at *Orgaz*, a place in the kingdom of Toledo, he learned and exercised the trade of a mason, where, in memory of his occupation and dexterity at it, he built a famous chimney: that he was afterward waiter at an inn in the *Sierra Morena*, but some extraordinary accidents which befell him, obliged him to seek service in *Peñaflor* as a lamplighter, from whence he passed to Seville. After having become a sword cutler, he died there, being burnt for coining. This was the father and inventor of Cards, according to the Apocryphal memoirs of the gamblers, who often curse and renounce him. *Faxardo, Fiel desengaño contra la Ociosidad.*" Quixote Illustrado, t. vi. p. 344.

[2] *Supra*, p. 2.

sixty years Italy had been unmolested by German troops, when it was again visited by them about the year 1310,[1] under the Emperor Henry VII. who advanced with his army as far as Rome, in 1312. Now it is probable, as the game was then in use among the Italians, that the German soldiers learned it of them, and at their return introduced it among their countrymen: it should seem that the Cards first used in Germany must have had the *Trappola* suits, for in the next century we find that the German *Briefmahlers*, or Cardmakers, exported their Cards all over Italy, into Sicily, and more remote parts of the world.[2]

The Germans originally called their Cards *Briefe*, which in the modern acceptation, signifies *Letters*; it had formerly, there can be no doubt, a different meaning, and indeed, it should seem to have signified any written instrument, or paper. Cards may have been so denominated from their similarity to the little images with inscriptions, or from the circumstance of their being the production of the fabricators of books.[3] But they were also known by the term *Karten*, and it is remarkable, that the name of *Briefmahler*, applied to the artists who manufactured these Images, Books, and Cards, appears to have taken its rise at a subsequent period; for they are first designated in the Old Town Books of the Suabian and Franconian cities, by the terms *Kartenmahler* or *Kartenmacher*. This is also another argument that Cards were derived by the Germans, from the Italians; the etymology of the term *Karten*, is evidently from

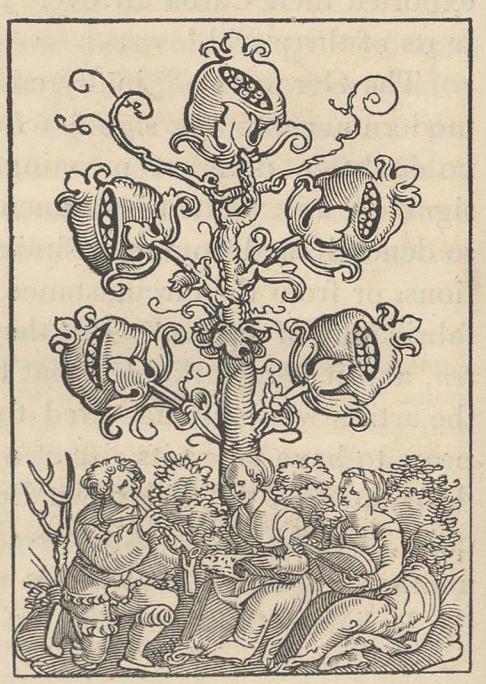
[1] Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, t. viii. p. 299 and 314.

[2] This is gathered from records at Ulm, by Breitkopf; in which city they were admitted into the Merchants' Guild at an early period of the fifteenth century, when they appear to have exported Cards by hogsheads at a time. A very early pack engraved on copper-plates, of which specimens have been given in Breitkopf's Book, have the Trappola suits.

[3] This is suggested by *Breitkopf, Ursprung der Spielkarten*, t. ii. p. 157. Without any previous acquaintance with this circumstance, a most ingenious similar conjecture had occurred to my friend Mr. Ottley, and will be found in the interesting work on the History of Engraving, which he is now preparing for the press. Every lover of the art will be pleased to hear, that a work of this kind, which has long been a desideratum in the literature of Europe, is in such able hands.

Carte, or *Cartone*. The other German appellation, *Briefe*, still prevails in many parts of Germany among the lower orders of people, who when they play at Cards, use the following expressions: How many *Briefe* have you? Who deals the *Briefe?* I want a *Brief*,[1] &c.

At what time the Germans adopted the suits which have become a distinguishing character of their Cards,[2] *Schellen*, Bells, *Hertzen*, Hearts, *Grün*, Green, and *Eicheln*, Acorns, is not known; but they



[1] Wie viel hast du Briefe? Wer giebt die Briefe? Mir fehlt ein Brief, &c. *Brietkopf Ursprung der Spielkarten*, 2 *Theil*. p. 157.

[2] The devices on Cards seem to have been very much varied in Germany at an early period, and instead of the usual suits, above enumerated, other objects, such as the human figure, various animals, birds, plants, fruit, and flowers, &c. were substituted. Much invention and taste are frequently displayed in the design and arrangement of these objects. I am enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Ottley, to present the reader with accurate fac-similes of part of a pack from the originals among his valuable collections of prints of the early masters; one of them bears the mark of *Erhardt Schoen*. The skill and spirit with which they are here imitated by the engraver, Mr. E. Byfield, merits every praise.

had also other objects represented on them at an early period of the fifteenth century. We have many such variations among the specimens which accompany this work, and they appear to have used the licence arbitrarily.

But the Germans subsequently, like other nations, invented and adopted games of their own: *Landsknecht*,[1] or *Lansquenet*, is the oldest German game at Cards. Its name, which signifies a Soldier,

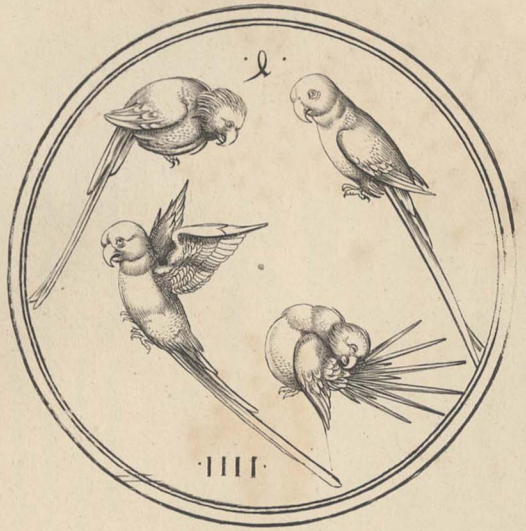
[1] The word *Lansknechte* appears to have been sometimes spelt *Lanzenknecht*, or *Lanz-Knecht:* its military and German origin is sufficiently obvious; it signifies the Foot-soldier, just as *Reufrige Knecht* means Horse Soldier. The Foot Soldiers were at that period armed with lances. Breitkopf cites an opinion of *Matthias Quade*, in the *Deutschen Nation Herrlichkeit*, who places their origin at the time of the invasion of Germany by the Huns, in the tenth century. He accounts them the fifth order of Germans, who had originally but four; the Clergy, the Nobility, the Citizens, and the Peasantry, to which were added this order of *Landsknechte*, taken from among the latter, to defend their country against the invaders. They preferred being called *Landsknechte* to the name of *Kriegsleute*, Soldiers; they were called *Lantz*, and *Labantz*, by the Hungarians in the sixteenth century. The inha-

seems to indicate that it was invented, or at least first played, by men engaged in the military profession; in a very short time it spread beyond the limits of Germany. If it be the same game which has come down to us, and that now bears the name, its invention required no mighty effort of genius, and it might easily be learned and played by the common soldiers. That it was the original Arabian game, does not appear likely, or the French, who probably knew that game before the Germans, would not have adopted the German name: but there is no doubt it was played with the original Eastern or *Trappola* Cards, before the German change of suits was made. The time of its invention is a matter of uncertainty: it is said to have been known in France, about 1392, in the reign of Charles VI.; and Breitkopf thinks, if this circumstance could be fully established, it might be inferred with some degree of probability, that it was this very same *Lansquenet* which the Europeans learned of the Arabians, and that it was the first game played wherever Cards penetrated.

But he considers it a matter of difficulty to assign that epoch with certainty for its introduction into France, and he rather inclines to think, although the term, as designating a Foot soldier, was then known there, that the game was not introduced until a later period. Circumstances point to the commencement of the war in the Netherlands under Maximilian I. about the year 1494 or 1495, as the most probable time of its introduction; the manufacturers of Cards in Germany were then a numerous and flourishing body, and the game very generally played.

Toward the close of the fourteenth, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century, numbers of poor dissolute people were wan-

bitants of the country have been called *Landliute* by some old German writers, and their servants *(Knechte,)* might therefore be properly called *Landsknechte*. The term *Lansquenet* among the French, in the sixteenth century, seems to have signified merely Foot Soldier. A representation of the *Landsknechte* is found in the Panoplia, or Book of Trades, &c. engraved by Jost Ammon, published at Frankfort in 1568; and one of the attendants or knaves, who carries a pike or halbert in the second plate of engraved Cards, may also be supposed to be a personification of the same character.



Engraved Cards of the
XV Century from the
Collection of F. Douce Esq.r

Swaine Sc. 12. Queen St. Golden Sq.re

dering about in the provinces of Upper Germany, who lived by plundering the inhabitants. They were, probably, partly the remnant of disbanded troops employed during the hostilities of the allied Suabian cities, against their princes and bishops, and partly the ruined inhabitants of the villages that were laid waste during that contest. On account of their robberies they were commonly called Bloodsuckers, *Blutzapfen*, but they were sometimes joined by leaders from among the superior orders of society, reduced to indigence by the same cause, and they then assumed the denomination of *Landsnechte*, which at an earlier period signified merely a Soldier. The Emperor Maximilian I. had employed them in his service, when he undertook his expedition against the Italian States; but more particularly in the Netherlands. At the termination of hostilities, when he no longer needed their services, these *Landsknechte* returned to Germany, and in their way they marched through some part of the French dominions. The term continued to designate hired troops even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but on account of the depredations they committed it was every where a hateful term of reproach.

Among other very curious Cards in the collection of Mr. Douce, is part of a pack of which the second plate affords specimens: the suits, five in number, are Hares, Parrots, Pinks, Roses, and Columbines: there are four figured cards to each suit, King, Queen, and two *Landsknechte*, or Knaves; one probably intended for the King's, and the other the Queen's attendant. The numerical cards in each suit appear to have been ten in number,[1] the disposition of the objects

[1] Bartsch, in his *Peintre Graveur*, vol. x. p. 70. 75. has described sixty-five of these cards, but as he had never seen any tens among those which had come under his cognizance, he erroneously concludes that one of the figured cards represented that number, notwithstanding *Heinecken* had asserted that tens were found in the pack. *Bartsch* does not seem to have been aware of the augmentation of the figured cards in the game of *Tarocco*, to which I am strongly inclined to suspect that these cards belong. It will be evident, that as there are five suits, of fourteen cards each, the number of the pack would be, when complete, seventy. They were made at Cologne, and possibly are of as early date as 1470. Mr. Ottley is in possession of some round prints, by *Martin Schoen*, of the same size and style

on them, is singularly fanciful and ingenious. The animals and figures are very artist-like, and they are engraved in a superior manner. From the evidence of style, they should seem to be by *Martin Schoen;* and the costume of the figures, which belongs to the fifteenth century, seems conclusively to establish the fact. It is very extraordinary that we have here, as in the oriental Cards, the number of suits increased; a strong circumstance in favour of their derivation from the East. Another pack, in the same gentleman's possession, have the names of Great Eastern Potentates inscribed under the figures of the four Kings; these Cards are engraved on wood, and are evidently of German workmanship. The number and variety of such packs of German manufacture, is a sufficient proof that they were in great request: most of those which we have seen are uncoloured,[1] and printed on stout paper, not card, or pasteboard, which was probably not then in use: of course the coloured packs were more expensive, and consequently not so much in request; or the uncoloured specimens may possibly have been impressions from the blocks, not intended to play with, but merely as prints.

The warlike outline of the game at Cards, and its general resemblance to Chess, is obvious: a more close examination of this similarity may lead to the cause of the changes adopted in the figures and suits. To begin with the figures; the antient Persian game of Chess consisted of the following pieces, which were thus named when they reached Europe.[2]

1	2	3	4	5	6
Schach.	Pherz.	Phil.	Aspen Suar.	Ruch.	Beydal.
The King.	The Vizier, or General.	The Elephant.	The Horseman.	The Dromedary.	Foot Soldier

of execution; which appear to have been intended for a species of Heraldic Cards, as they consist of figures holding shields, whereon are various coats of arms.

[1] Mr. Douce has, however, the greatest portion of a pack with the usual German suits, spiritedly designed and engraved on wood, which are coloured in a simple manner, red and green, apparently by means of a *Stensil:* they are printed on stout paper. Those early and rudely executed German cards, of which a complete pack has been engraved for this work, are evidently coloured in this manner, and bear every appearance of being a production of the early part of the fifteenth century.

[2] No European nation has the game of Chess in its original form; it has experi-

In the imitation of this arrangement at Cards, only half the figures were taken,[1] selecting the most essential characters, thus :

1	2	3	4
The King.	The General, or Horseman.	The Knave, or *Fante*.	The Numerical Cards.

When Chess was first introduced into France, the pieces were no doubt called by the Persian names, but in process of time these names were partly changed by translation, and partly modified by a French termination.

Schach was converted by translation into *Roy*, the King. *Pherz*,

enced, every where, some change : Hyde has compared these changes in his Dissertation *De Shahiludio*. He takes the Persian game for a standard, as nearest the original form; but even this has undergone some alteration. The European names are as follows :

The German.	Konig	Konigin	Laufer	Springer	Thurm, or *Elephant*.	Bauern
The French.	Roy	Reine	Fou	Chevalier	la Tour	Pions
The Italian.	Ré	Reina	Alfiere	Cavalli	Rocchi, or Torri	Pedine
The Spaniard.	Rey	Reyna	Alfil	Caballo	——	——
The Russian.	——	——	——	Ship	——	——
The English.	King	Queen	Bishop	Knight	Rook	Pawns

[1] Referring to the Indian Chess, or game of the Four Kings, Mr. Christie says " Our surprise at this fourfold game may cease : the two Kings on each side can be no other than the two *inviolable pieces:* their attendants are the *offensive* armed assistants. We will invest them with their dignities, and arrange them in their martial order :

Camel	Ruch	Asp	Pîl	Shah
5	4	3	2	1
				Queen

Shah	Pîl	Asp	Ruch	Camel
1	2	3	4	5
King				

Do we wonder at the height of the *Queen*, as represented upon our European boards ? This will account for it. She is hardly discernible from the King ; their size is equal, and their carving nearly the same. The politeness of the more liberal Chess players induces them sometimes to announce the warning check, when her safety is threatened ; which amounts nearly to a concession of inviolability to her person, equally with the *King*. Let one of the above Kings change his sex, and we shall account for this degree of courtesy." *Inquiry*, p. 74.

It must also be remembered, that the Queen, both at Chess and Cards, is of European, and most likely of French invention. The Hindu Cards in the possession of Mr. Douce have no Queens, and it has been seen that the early Italian, Spanish, and German Cards, have a Knight or Horseman instead of a Queen.

the Vizier, became *Fercia*, *Fierce*, *Fierge*, *Vierge*, and was of course at last converted into a Lady, *Dame*. The Elephant, *Phil*, was easily altered into *Fol*, or the modern *Fou*. Of the Horseman, *Aspensuar*, they made the *Cavalier*, or Knight. The Dromedary, *Ruch*, was changed into a Castle, *Tour*, or Tower; probably from being confounded with the Elephant, which is represented carrying a small Tower or Castle on his back. The Foot Soldiers, *Beydal*, were retained by the name of *Pions*, Pawns.

Just as it was the lot of the Vizier at Chess to be converted into a Lady, it happened at Cards that the gallantry of the French changed the Horseman or General into a Queen: and thus arose the three figures on their Cards, *Roy*, *Dame*, *Valet*. It should be observed, that the Queen was found in addition to the other three figured cards of each suit in the Old Italian *Tarocco* Cards. It is remarkable that the suits are termed *familiæ*,[2] by some Latin writers who mention the game; and as the words *Valet*, *Knave*, and *Fante*, have been said to signify a King's son, a Royal Family may have been intended; in the *Tarocco* game, it was probably a King and Queen, with an attendant or servant for each. How the additional figures, called the *Tarocchi*, arose, we know not; but it has been already observed, that they are found on the modern Hindu Cards, and that

[1] Mr. Douce in a very curious and interesting paper on the European names of Chess-men, printed in Vol. XI. of the Archæologia, to which the reader is referred, says: "It is agreed that the term is borrowed from the Eastern word *Pherz*, which means a counsellor or general of an army; for it is well known that the game, however since corrupted, was originally a military one: and it is proper to make this remark now, as it will apply in discussing the changes of the other pieces. The military spirit of the Asiatic game is still preserved in the method of playing, but the warlike characters of the actors have been almost entirely converted into those composing the principal classes of a well regulated society; such as Kings, Queens, Knights, Bishops, Fools, and Peasants."—"Much confusion has arisen from the arbitrary changes of the names as well as the forms of Chess-men by different nations. Some have retained the forms whilst they have altered the names, and others, the names after having changed the forms. Thus it happened at Cards; we retain the Spanish terms of *Clubs* and *Spades*, whilst we have adopted the French suits."

[2] Mr. Douce observes, that "The writers of the middle ages in speaking of Chess-men, universally stile them *familiæ*." Archæologia, t. xi. p. 409.

they are of Eastern origin appears at least highly probable, the circumstance of an allegory or fable being intended in them, adding strength to the conjecture. The fondness of the people of the Eastern world for this mode of conveying instruction is every where manifest; perhaps the moralization of Chess might be traced to them, as its emblematic signification was apparently meditated by the Inventor.

The beautiful pack of Hindu Cards, of which specimens accompany this work, consists of the seven following Suits; *Suns*, represented by gold disks; Moons, or silver disks; *Crowns* or Turbans, *Cushions*, *Harps*, *Letters*,[1] *Swords;* of each of these Suits there are ten numerical, and two figured or Court Cards, which appear to represent a sovereign, and a general or chief. Besides these there are *twelve* Cards apparently of no suit, but on which are groups of figures, some male and some female; among them is the following very curious and extraordinary groupe of Tumblers.[2]

[1] It is a kind of oblong square writing, in the form of a letter; it may be observed in the Hand of the horseman represented on the third Card in the 1st Plate at p. 16. The ground on which is the written inscription is silver, the characters black. Sir William Ouseley was kind enough to explain its signification to me, which is "Letters Patent."

[2] In the collection from whence these cards were obtained, there exists a curious Hindu drawing, representing the same subject, in which this groupe of figures is repeated with some other curious acces-

These twelve Cards are what we have considered as corresponding with the *Tarocchi* in the European game;[1] they appear to be quite unconnected with any of the Suits. We were at first led to suppose that the number of human figures on each of these cards might denote its value in the game, but they do not appear to be in regular numerical progression from *one* to *twelve*, although nearly so; and it therefore became necessary to abandon the supposition as untenable.

The correspondence of this very curious Pack of Cards in point of number with the usual pack of European *Tarocco* Cards is nearly exact, and affords a strong reason for presuming they are of that species. Whether the Hindoos have other Cards in which the number is less, and the form more simple, we have been unable to learn; those packs which we have seen, have been exactly conformable in regard to the objects represented on the numerical Cards, while the figured Cards vary considerably, and various Packs differ in the form, size, and degree of skill with which they have been executed. The Pack from which the Cards engraved for this work were taken, are

sories. The feats of the Oriental Tumblers, if these representations may be credited as faithful, far exceed any thing displayed in the most enterprizing European exhibitions of the same kind. In one part of the drawing above mentioned, a woman is represented suspended by her hair, which is loosely knotted to the top of a pole; she sustains in each hand a child by the hair of its head in the same manner; the pole to which she is suspended is balanced on the shoulders of a man, who stands on the back of another, while the latter stands upon his feet, and bends himself at the middle, so that his back forms an horizontal line, and his breast seemingly rests over the point of a formidable sharp stake.

[1] On one of them is represented a figure in European Costume, of rather a modern cast; he is seated in a chair, and probably represents the party for whom the Cards were executed: it has been before remarked, that they are painted on ivory with much delicacy. The backs are gilt, or rather clouded with gold; this is undoubtedly to answer the same purpose as the coloured or *Tarotté* backs of European Cards. It is remarkable that the Chinese Cards are also for the most part either coloured or spotted on the backs. I have seen part of another Pack of circular ivory Hindu Cards, which are in the collection of Viscount Harberton, who kindly offered me the free use of them; the subjects represented on them are in every respect the same as on those from whence the Engravings in this work have been made, the stile of Art very similar: they are finished with all the delicacy of European miniature-paintings.

very beautiful specimens of the graphic skill of this extraordinary people. The complicated form of these Cards, if our supposition that they are of the *Tarocco* kind be admitted, would render it very unlikely that they were imitations of the European game. The adherence of this people to their own inventions and amusements, may also be urged against the probability of their having adopted them, the circumstance of the number of suits being *seven*, while those in the European game are but *four*, is extraordinary, as they most probably have one common origin: those who are best acquainted with the obligation Europe owes to the Eastern world, will not have much hesitation in deciding to whom the invention belongs.

The cause of the European change in the suits has been explained on the supposition that the original Eastern Cards represented allegorically the orders or ranks of society, and that the Europeans had the same object in view in the representations upon theirs. Thus the suits on the Italian and Spanish Cards have been said to signify, by *Spade*, or Swords, the Nobility; *Coppe*, Cups or Chalices, the Clergy; *Denari*, Money, the Citizens; *Bastoni*, Clubs or Sticks, the Peasantry. The French suits have also been illustrated in the same manner; the analogy appears striking, and the deduction replete with ingenuity.[1] *Pique*, it has been supposed, was

[1] In a dissertation upon Cards printed in the "Memoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences et Belles Lettres," for the year 1720, they are supposed to be emblematic of the wants of war; thus *As*, or Ace, is said to mean, Money; *Trefle*, forage; *Pique*, Pikes or Powder Shovels; *Carreau*, Arrows, Stones, Lead to fire with; and *Coeurs*, Hearts, to signify the courage of the Soldiers. Bullet has given a similar explanation:—"Il y a quatre couleurs dans ce jeu, pour représenter les quatres quadrilles des carrousels. Le Coeur signifie le courage, la valeur si nécessaire dans les batailles: le Pique, les armes offensives, dont la principale étoit alors la pique ou la lance. Les Armes defensives sont marquées par le Carreau, qui est un bouclier losangé. Le Trefle qui est un signe de la fertilité & de la bonté des pâturages, indique l'abondance des fourrages, principalement necessaire à une armée, dans ce temps la, où elle étoit presque toute composée de Gendarmerie. Rien ne paroit opposé à ce plan, que les Dames, qui ne semblent pas devoir se trouver dans le tumulte des Armes. Mais elles ne paroîtront point déplacées dans un jeu militaire, si l'on fait attention au genre de galanterie qui regnoit pour lors." &c. *Recherches sur les Cartes a jouer*, p. 77.

intended for the point of a Lance or Pike, used by Knights in their justs, and therefore represents the first order, or nobles; *Coeur*, Hearts, to denote the Clergy; the hint may have been taken from some scriptural expressions, "a heart of unbelief."—"With the heart man believeth, &c." *Trefle*, Clover or Trefoil, signified the Husbandmen, or Cultivators of the soil, who formed the middle class of the community, before the increased cultivation of arts, manufactures, and commerce, had congregated men together in numbers, and formed great cities. *Carreau*, the end or head of an arrow, represented the Vassals, or lowest class of the community, from among whom the common soldiers or archers were taken.[1] The suits of the German Cards are presumed to have the same symbolical origin, and if we may judge of the date of their adoption from the objects represented upon them, it becomes exceedingly probable that they are of greater antiquity than the French suits, and date at least as early as the fourteenth century. *Schellen*, Little Bells, were anciently the ornament of the dress of Princes and the Nobility:[2] such bells were also tyed to Hawks; it is well known

[1] *Carreau*, has also been explained as signifying square stones, or pavement, and thus alluding to the lowest order of the community. v. *Menestrier, Bibl. Curieuse. Passim.*

[2] *Bucelinus* has given figures of several princes of the House of Brunswick, decorated with this princely ornament of distinction, among others *Guelpho II.* and his consort *Ermengarda*, who flourished about the years 1002-24; they have girdles studded with these Bells. *Wulphid*, who lived about 1138, is represented with a kind of necklace of Bells; the Emperor *Henry VI.* who died in 1197, has also a girdle; and *Otto IV.* a collar of them. Another prince is represented with a shoulder belt decorated with Bells, which hangs down his back, and reaches to his legs. As this ornament appears to have been prevalent with princes from the eleventh, to the thirteenth century, it may be presumed that the alteration of the suits took place soon after the introduction of Cards into Germany. v. *Bucelini Germaniæ Topo-Chronostemmatographicæ. Sacr. et Prof. Aug. Vindel.* 1662. fol. some of these figures have been copied, and are given in *Breitkopf's* Book, and in *Jansen Orig. de la Gravure.* Bucelinus probably copied these figures, says *Breitkopf*, from the Old German Chronicle of the Guelphs in the Convent of Weingarten, from whence also *Eccard* took the representation in his *Origines Guelficæ.* This Chronicle, he considers, not older than the commencement of the fifteenth century, but the figures, he thinks, are certainly copies of more ancient originals. *Keysler*, in his Travels, v. 1. letter 6. mentions some statues of the Dukes of

that great personages generally rode with a Hawk on their hand, as a mark of their quality ; these, therefore, are used as a type of that order of society. *Herzen*, Hearts, denote the Clergy, as in the French Cards ; *Grün*, Green, or leaves, has the same relation to the Husbandman as Trefle; *Eicheln*, *Eichenolz*, Acorns or Oak, the Woodmen, Peasants and Slaves employed in labour. Whether this allegory was intended by the inventors of Cards, may, however, admit of doubt. It seems more reasonable to suppose, that it had its origin in the fertile imaginations of some speculative minds in more recent times;[1] but it is not extraordinary, that during the last three centuries, various other emblematic meanings should have been assigned to them.[2]

Brunswick with the same ornament, which stand in the Palace Yard at Brunswick; and also some portraits in the Town Hall at Lunenberg, which are likewise represented with this singular mark of distinction."

[1] The remarkable predilection for allegory among all the nations of the East, renders it probable that Cards, like Chess, were intended to convey instruction in this manner. The Hindoos are not, like the Chinese, addicted to gaming, from the spirit of play, but they amuse themselves, both with Chess and Cards, by way of recreation. *Helvetius* in his work on the Mind, says, " In those countries where the sciences have been cultivated, where the desire of writing is still preserved, where the people, however, are subject to arbitrary power, where consequently truth can only present herself under some emblem, it is certain, that authors must insensibly contract the habit of thinking only in allegory. It was to point out to some tyrant the injustice of his oppressions, the harshness with which he treated his subjects, and the reciprocal and necessary dependance which unites the people and the sovereign, that an Indian philosopher, it is said, invented Chess. He gave lessons in it to the tyrant, made him remark that if in his game the pieces became useless after the loss of their King, so the King after his pieces were taken, was utterly unable to defend himself, and that in either case the game was equally lost." *De l'Esprit*, t. ii. p. 139. c. xxix. Paris 1758. 8vo.

[2] In some of the old *Facetiæ*, we recollect to have read a Tale of a Friar, who, thinking to pull out his Breviary, displays a pack of Cards, which some mischievous wit had substituted for it; not at all disconcerted by the circumstance, he explains to the people that he makes use of them as a Breviary, and in a most ingenious manner applies the different cards to this purpose. A story of somewhat similar nature, forms one of the popular books of amusement with the lower classes among us, even to the present day ; we have heard it narrated by one of the itinerant venders of Chap-Books, with much naiveté within a short time. The title of this curious morsel is, " A New Game at Cards between a Nobleman in London, and one of

Court de Gebelin has seized upon this supposed allegorical meaning, and made it the groundwork of his fanciful explanation of the *Tarocco* Cards. The idea is by no means of modern date, for we have seen that Cobarruvias,[1] who wrote before the year 1611, has made them emblematical of War, and has also explained the figurative meaning of the Suits on the Spanish Cards, in a manner somewhat similar. It is still the opinion of many learned persons, that there was much recondite knowledge intended to be conveyed in them; and it must be confessed, it is not improbable such an idea should have been conceived by the inventor: it is generally credited, that this was the case with regard to the game of Chess, and Cards may with equal probability be supposed to have been intended to afford instruction, couched under the form of amusement, in the same manner.

It affords us much pleasure, that we have it in our power to lay before the reader a most ingenious Essay on the subject, by a Gentleman, who has employed his valuable leisure in an inquiry of this kind, in which he has demonstrated the possibility, that Cards may in some way or other be connected with the science of astronomy. We shall not anticipate the subject by any farther remarks at present, but content ourselves with referring the reader to the Appendix, in which he will find it treated with much learning and ingenuity, in a Paper with which we have been favoured by Dr. A. P. Buchan.

A German writer, of the seventeenth century, has shewn that these allegories of the Suits were then prevailing notions also in that country; and a moral writer of the same period, has deduced from the circumstance of the initial letters of the German Suits, forming the word SARG, Death,[2] another curious inference.

his Servants. Shewing how the Servant converts his Cards into a compleat Almanack, by which he divides the Year into Months, Weeks, Days, Hours, and Minutes. He likewise forms them into a Monitor, or Prayer-Book, &c."

[1] Supra, p. 39.

[2] Lehman De Varii Ludendi Generibus. Budissæ, 1680, p. 50.—Alii ex literis initialibus colorum istorum, aus Schellen, Aichel, Roth, und Grün, einen Sarg composuere quia chartæ lusoriæ sæpe fuint marsupii et lusoris sepulchrum.

Hence it will be obvious, how the employment of Cards in divination and fortune telling arose; it will be presently shewn that this application of them was prevalent early in the sixteenth century; and as the Gipsies, under the denomination of *Adzinkari*, exercised the craft of jugglers, sorcerers, and fortune tellers, in Asia, it is not improbable, if Cards found their way to Europe by their means, that this usage was obtained at the same time.

The English names of the suits are in part adopted from the Spanish, and partly from the French; yet it is singular that the suits on our Cards are altogether those of the latter nation. It has been seen in a former page,[1] that a Latin writer of the sixteenth century called the suit of Spades, *Ligones*; the resemblance of the object represented on Cards of that Suit, to one of the forms of the agricultural spade is striking, and hence we may account for the origin of this denomination; the similarity of sound between the Spanish term *Spada*, and the English word Spade, may also have led to the adoption of it.

The French call the suit of Clubs *Trefle*, from its resemblance to the Trefoil leaf: although we have obtained the form of the object from them, we have retained the Spanish name *Bastos*, literally translated. In admitting also the French suit *Carreaux*, we have in some degree gone beyond the licence of translation, in calling it Diamonds.[2] Of the remaining Suit, Hearts, it is merely necessary to remark, that we have adopted both the name, and the object, from the French Cards.

The figured, or Court Cards, were formerly called Coat[3] Cards; and Strutt says, "I conceive the name implied coated figures, that is, men and women who wore coats, in contradistinction to the other devices of flowers and animals not of the human species."[4]

[1] Supra, p. 38, note [1].

[2] Diamonds appear to have been formerly called *Picks*, which is nothing more than the adoption of the French *Pique*. v. Minshew's Guide to the Tongues, art. Diamonds.

[3] Sports and Pastimes of the English Nation. 4to. 2d Edition. Lond. 1810. p. 291.

[4] Thus Sir John Harington, in his Metamorphosis of Ajax, says "When Brutus had discarded the kings and queens out of the pack, and shewed himself sworn enemy to all the Coate Cardes, then crept in many new forms of government."

The Pack of Cards is also continually by our older writers termed a *Paire*, or Pair of Cards,[1] which circumstance has not hitherto been explained satisfactorily; it has been suggested, that anciently *two* Packs of Cards were used, as is sometimes still the case at Quadrille; one pack being laid by the side of the player who is to deal the next time. But this explanation will not apply in cases where evidently but *one* pack is designated; the fact appears to be, that *Pair* and *Pack* were formerly synonimous, and the expression was obviously derived from the Italian, in which language *Paio*,[2] Pair, has the same latitude; and it is remarkable that the Italians use the phrase, *un Paio di Carte da giucare*, for a Pack of Cards.

The reader may not be displeased with the following Table of the names by which Cards and the Suits on them are known in some of the European languages.

English.	*Flemish.*	*Russian.*	*Italian.*
Cards, Playing Cards.	Kaart, Speelkaarten	Kartü	Naipes, Carte da giucare
German.	*Danish.*	*Prussian.*	*Spanish.*
Karten, Spielkarten Briefe	Kort, Spilkort	Karty	Naipes Cartas
Dutch.	*Swedish.*	*French.*	*Portuguese.*
Kaarten, Speelkarten	Kort	Cartes, Cartes à joüer	[3]Naipe, Cartas de jogar

It may also be proper here to observe, that in the *Gazophylacium Linguæ Persarum* of Padre Angelo, printed in 1684, the Per-

[1] In an old play, called "The longer thou livest the more foole thou arte," (*Garrick collection, vol.* 1. 18,) Idleness desires Moros the clown to looke at *his booke*, and shews him *a paier of cardes:* and in another old play, entitled "A Woman Killed with Kindness," *a pair of Cards and Counters* are mentioned. Roger Ascham, in his Toxophilus, calls them *a paier of cardes*, and says *they cost not past twopence*. Numerous other instances might be adduced, but these are sufficient for our present purpose.

[2] VOCABOLARIO DELLA CRUSCA *in voce* "Talora si dice Paio a un Corpo solo d'una cosa ancorche si divida in dimolte parti, come un Paio di Carte da giucare, un Paio di scacchi." Thus also we have in some old writers *a Payre of Tables*, *a Payre of beedes* (for a Rosary), v. PALSGRAVE'S ECLAIRCISSEMENT DE LA LANGUE FRANÇOISE, 1530. Folio. Sig. l. 2. The Pack of Cards was sometimes termed a Stock, as in the following passage in the old Morality of *Three Ladies of London*, "Now all the Cards in the Stock are dealt about, &c." We have somewhere seen them termed a Deck of Cards.

[3] Yet it appears that *Naipe* in Portuguese rather signifies the Suits than the

sian name of Cards is given thus, كنجعد, and in the *Fabrica Linguæ Arabicæ*, published by the Society of the Propaganda at Rome in 1639, the Arabic name is also to be found ورقّاهعد, We have been unable to trace them in the Oriental writers for reasons before assigned. In the principal languages of Europe the following are the names of the Suits.

In English,	Diamonds	Clubs	Hearts	Spades
German,[1]	Rauten, Schellen	Kreuzen, Eicheln	Herzen, Rothe	Spaten, Grüne, Laub
Dutch,	Ruyten	Claver	Herten	Schoppen
Italian,	Quadri, Denari	Fiori, Mattoni, Bastoni	Cuori, Coppe	Picche, Spade
Spanish,	Ladrillos, Dineros	Bastos, Palos	Coraçones, Copas	Picas Spadas
Portuguese,	Oiros, Ouros	Paós	..... Copas	.... Espadas
French,	Carreau	Trefle	Coeurs	Piques

THE NAMES OF THE FIGURED CARDS ARE AS FOLLOWS.

English.	*French.*	*Italian.*	*Spanish.*	*Portuguese.*	*German.*
King	Roi	Ré	Rey	Rey	Konig
Queen	Reine	Réina, Cavallo	Reyna, Caballo	Reyna, Cavallo	Obermann
Knave	Valet	Fante	Soto	Soto	Untermann

Dutch
Heer
Vrouw
Boer

The Chinese have been described as strongly addicted to gaming of every description, and it would have excited some surprize in us to have found them ignorant of Cards; the grotesque appearance of the figures on modern European court Cards, bears no small degree of resemblance to some representations of the human form in the more rude and early attempts of the Chinese at depicting it. This resemblance has been frequently remarked, but has never, we

Cards, the following passages from the abridgment of the Vocabulario of Bluteau I have subjoined for the curious reader.

Naipe *o metal das Cartas de jogar, v.g.* " *o naipe do trunfo he pàos; hum naipe inteiro são todas as Cartas do mesmo metal.*

Metal. § *Metal das Cartas de jogar, naipe; figura, e cor d'ellas.* " *que metal he? oiros copas, &c.* the Ace is also sometimes called *Basto,* as it is in Spanish. According to *Vieyra,* a Pack of Cards in Portuguese is called *Barhalho de Cartas.*

[1] Whether the Germans, in the infinite diversity of objects we find substituted for the usual Suits on some of their ornamental Cards, continued to call them by the ordinary terms, we know not, but it is highly probable they did; for what can be more unlike a club, than the object on the Suit known by that name among us, and which we have shewn is derived from the Spanish custom of representing a club on one of their Cards.

believe, led to the inquiry, whether it was probable that the Europeans obtained the knowledge of Cards from thence.[1] As it is certain that they practised the art of engraving on wood many centuries before it was known in Europe; and as the European Card-makers are considered by some to have first introduced that art, a conjecture might be hazarded, that they obtained both Cards, and this mode of multiplying them, from China, by means of some of the early adventurers, who for purposes of commerce are known to have reached that country as early as the twelfth century. We have however no record to offer in proof of this conjecture, but the presumption is very strong that the Chinese were acquainted with this game before it was known in Europe; for the Portuguese Missionaries found it in use there among the common people, to whom one or two travellers have said it is peculiar, and that it is not played by persons of distinction. An exquisite Chinese painting, which we have seen in the possession of a zealous and tasteful lover of the Arts, is at variance with this assertion, for a family of distinction are therein represented, amusing themselves with Cards similar in form to those of which we have here given specimens. That they are the common amusement of the lower orders seems strongly to support the probability of their having been long common among them, and is at the

[1] Zani says, that "the Abbé Tressan shewed him when he was at Paris a Pack of Chinese Cards, and told him that a Venetian was the first who brought Cards from China to Venice, and that city was the first place in Europe where they were known. I should willingly record the name of this Venetian (continues Zani), and the year in which he brought them to his native land, if the Abbé Tressan had pleased to have put me in possession of these circumstances. But whether from jealousy, or some other motive, he refused to favour me with them, after repeated applications made to him for the purpose by one of my friends."

"This traveller could have been no other than *Niccolo Polo*, who with his brother *Matteo*, returned from China about 1269, or else the celebrated *Marco Polo*, son of the above *Niccolo*, who went with his father and his uncle in their second voyage to that great empire. Notwithstanding, Tiraboschi, who names these travellers, and who had read the Travels of Marco, both in the printed text and in various manuscripts, makes not the slightest mention of such an occurrence, I shall wait therefore until the Abbé Tressan gives to the world his Memoir relative to Cards."

Zani Origine e progressi dell Incisione in Rame in Legno, p. 192.

same time an argument against the supposition of Semedo,[1] that they were introduced by Europeans; the partiality, and tenacious adherence, which the Chinese manifest to their own peculiar customs and amusements, and their tardiness to adopt those of other nations, also militates against this opinion.

The Cards in common use in China are made of pasteboard, equal if not superior to any manufactured in Europe. The objects or suits represented on them do not seem to have much relation to those on either the Hindoo or European Cards. They are printed in black from engraved blocks of wood, and those Cards which have figures represented on them, have many of them no small degree of resemblance to our modern Court Cards. The following specimens are from the cabinet of the same kind friend whose collection has already been so frequently referred to.

[1] Alvaro Semedo, the Portuguese missionary, in his Account of China published at Rome in 1643, remarks, that the Chinese have Cards, which he says are similar to those used by the Europeans, save that they are entirely black, but he seems to think that they have obtained the knowledge of them from Europe. He says, they are not played at by the nobility and graver sort of people, but only by the lower orders. The passage in the original is as follows: "*Il giuoco delle Carte, che sono simili alle nostra nella forma e figure, benche tutte nere e senza colori, ha penetrato anche in quest' ultima parte; & è proprio della gente plebea, che dalli nobili non vieni usato.*"

RELATIONE DELLA CINA. ROMA 1643, 4to. p. 87.

We have given two Cards of each Suit, and eight figured Cards; one of these suits is evidently intended for money, the other may probably represent the bamboo.

Their cards vary materially in size; the largest we have seen are much smaller than any European Cards now in use; some of them have the backs coloured, this is the case with the Pack from whence the present specimens are copied: in which they are of a beautiful bright crimson.

They are not always of the same form, nor are the objects represented on them uniformly the same, as will be obvious by com-

paring the following fac similes copied from Breitkopf's work with those above given.

The Pack, consisting of thirty Cards, from which our specimens were selected, appears conformable in regard to the Suits with some which Breitkopf has engraved, but they are much smaller.

In a supplemental note to his Origin of Cards, he says, " After this work was printed I met with two sorts of Chinese Cards in the cabinet of M. Link, at Leipzic. One consists of *four* suits, not distinguished by colours, but by marks and numbers over the Cards, and large and rude characters. They are one inch and a half broad, and a little more than two inches long. Each Suit consists of nine Cards; the backs are black."

" The other Pack is narrower, one inch and a quarter broad, and three inches long, it has only three[1] Suits, one consisting of a kind of worm with the head like a bird; the other of crowned men's heads; the third of small squares. Each Suit has ten Cards, but the figures on the tenth are perfectly distinct from those of the other

[1] I am rather inclined to think, that there are but *two* Suits on these Chinese Cards, and that the Cards which are marked with the human figure are correspondent with the Court Cards or Honours in the European game, or with the superior pieces at Chess. If my conjecture is well founded, the circumstance would afford a strong argument in favour of the derivation of Cards from Chess.

nine; perhaps they may be only ornaments introduced by the maker, for they are different in another Pack of these Cards which is in the cabinet at Jena. The backs of the Pack at Leipzic are *Tarottés*, and of the Pack at Jena the backs are white: they are made of pasteboard, formed by pasting 4, 5, or 6 sheets of paper togegether, which are easily split or separated from each other."

The two Cards here given are part of the above Pack, selected from those engraved by Breitkopf: it was thought desirable to give the curious Reader these various specimens, as they convey more complete ideas of the Cards used by this singular nation than could have been given by the most laboured and exact description.

One of the Suits he describes as a kind of worm with a head like a bird; but neither his own engraving, nor the Pack before us, warrant this assertion: the object which he thus mistook is what we have supposed to represent the bamboo.

Three of the cards are marked with a kind of oval stamp printed in red ink over the impression in black: on two of them it is twice impressed, and on one other it occurs only once. What purpose this is intended for, whether to mark some peculiar card and alter its value in the game, or whether Cards are subject in China to a duty,

and this be the government mark, or that of the maker, we know not. Mr. Gough[1] appears to have possessed a similar Pack, in which he remarks the circumstance of this red stamp occurring on three of the Cards.

Niebuhr relates, that he saw Chinese Cards in use at Bombay,[2] but his description of them seems rather to designate the Hindu Cards, than those of the Chinese: he also mentions, that the Chinese export their Cards in considerable quantities. Breitkopf says, he was told by a gentleman who had been at Canton, that the Cards in use there are painted and embellished with extraordinary figures; none of the painted or embellished Cards had been seen by Breitkopf, nor does he seem to have been acquainted with the Hindu Cards, of which kind I suspect were those described by his friend, as well as those seen by Niebuhr at Bombay. Nieuhoff[3] mentions the use of Cards and Dice in China, which he also says are played at only by the lower orders, and that persons of distinction play at Chess. The passion which the Chinese have for gaming has been at times attempted to be repressed, by manifestoes issued by several of the emperors; and one of them, in order to deter the higher classes, after having made it penal for any of them to play at games of chance, permitted the lowest and most degraded class, the chairmen, who are generally despised, to play at them: but the experiment is said not to have had the desired success.[4]

[1] Mr. Gough says, "I have also a Pack of Chinese Cards, made of the same materials as European, and charged with various devices to no great or regular numbers. The whole Pack consists of only thirty Cards, and of these nine have human faces, one whole length figure, and one, two faces one under the other. The whole length figure has on it a red stamp with characters, and there are two such stamps on one of the faces." OBSERVATIONS ON CARDS. ARCHÆOLOGIA, vii. p. 171*.

[2] V. supra, p. 9.

[3] EMBASSY TO CHINA, p. 225. This is a remarkable corroboration of what Semedo had before said, unless we suppose that Nieuhoff followed him implicitly without inquiring for himself: as is too often the case with travellers, who, in digesting the relation of their travels in their studies at home, call in the aid of writers who have gone before them.

[4] Art Militaire des Chinois, trad. par Amiot, publié par M. De Guignes. Paris, 1772, 4to. p. 38.—Le Comte speaks of the Chinese hazarding their estates, houses, children and wives, on a card. PRESENT STATE OF CHINA, *p.* 292.

The application of Cards to various modes of divination, and their use by conjurors and fortune tellers, may also in some degree be considered as indicative of their Oriental origin, for these arts of *Grammarye* are generally considered to have taken their rise in the East. That Cards were applied to these purposes at an early period after their introduction into Europe seems probable, for we find the itinerant venders of sweetmeats using them as a kind of lottery at the close of the 15th century. And we have evidence that they were extensively applied to the purposes of divination in Italy early in the 16th century, in a most beautiful volume, entitled Le Sorti' by Francesco Marcolini, printed in 1540, which we have reason to suspect may not have been the first work of its kind. This very curious and interesting book is now of great rarity; probably there are not three copies of it in England, for even in Italy it is very rarely to be met with, and bears a high price, on account of the beauty of the wood cuts, from the designs of Giuseppe Salviati, with which it is decorated. The questions which it resolves are 50 in number, thirteen of which regard men, and thirteen relate to women, the remaining twenty-four are common to both: the mode in which they are resolved is by a kind of oracular triplet, to which you are directed by drawing one or two cards.

The decorations of the volume consist of a series of emblematic figures representing the Vices, Virtues, Passions, &c. each of which governs two pages of that part of the volume which refers to the metrical answers, and which in their turn are in custody of the celebrated philosophers of antiquity, each of whom presides over forty-five of these answers. The title or frontispiece is a very masterly emblematical engraving on wood, drawn with great spirit; the name of the artist appears in a small tablet at the bottom of the Print, thus, "*Joseph Porta Garafagninus.*" The principal part of the design is a group of figures consulting the volume; immediately behind is another of three philosophers, one of whom holds an orrery, and under an arch, more remote, is a group at a table, likewise consulting the book of fate; above this design is the title,

in five lines, and on the reverse, in an architectural frame, a spirited portrait of the author and publisher, Francesco Marcolini.[1] The decorative wood cuts above referred to, are very numerous, and many of them very beautiful; great numbers of them afterwards served to decorate the *Capriccios* of that odd genius Doni, who seems to have been employed by Marcolini to write some of his whimsical productions as vehicles for these wood cuts. The following beautiful subject, which occurs at folio LXVII, and which is intended as a

representation of Penitence, is selected as a specimen, which it is presumed will justify the warmest panegyric; at the same time it must be confessed, that all the designs are not of equal beauty; some

[1] LE SORTI DI FRANCESCO MARCOLINI DA FORLI INTITOLATE GIARDINO DI PENSIERI *allo Illustrissimo Signore Hercole Estense Duca di Ferrara.* This title is in five lines of capitals at the top of the beautiful wood cut above described: at the end, in the centre of an embellished shield, the very elegant device of Marcolini, emblematic of Time bringing Truth to light, who is assailed by Envy, under which is the register, and colophon, thus, "IN VENETIA PER FRANCESCO MARCOLINI DA FORLI NEGLI ANNI DEL SIGNORE MDXXXX *del mese di Ottobre.*" There was a second edition printed in 1550, which I have seen, but it is very far inferior in point of beauty; it is obvious that the wood-cuts could not possibly be such good impressions; the whole book is also more carelessly executed.

of them are extravagant and *outré:* the artist, like others who have affected to imitate the sublimities of Michelagnolo, often fails in the attempt, and falls into absurdities and distortions, which, instead of ideas of grandeur or spirit, excite only those of caricatura. Yet, notwithstanding this occasional failure, the volume may be pronounced on the whole one of the most desirable among those numerous works which display the xylographic skill of the Italians in the sixteenth century.

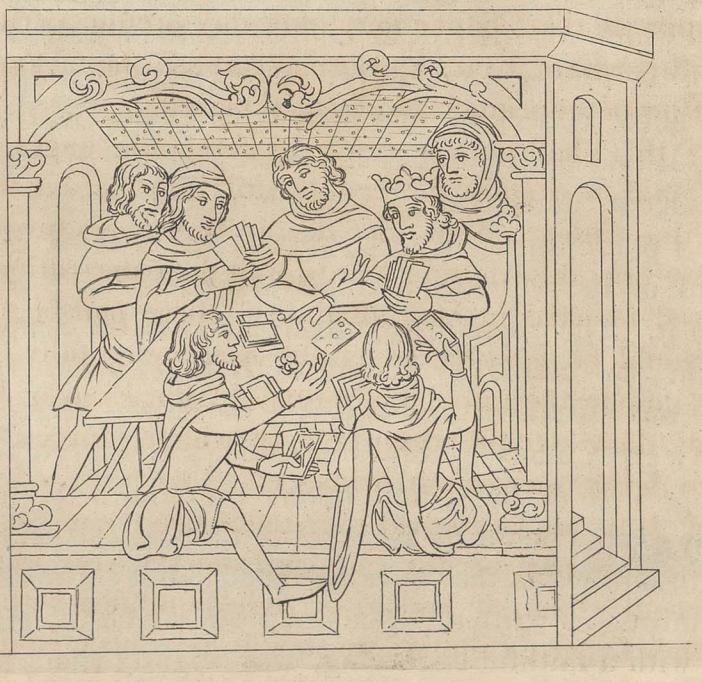
It is not unlikely that Francesco Marcolini took his idea of this book of fate from the *Triompho di Fortuna,*[1] published by Sigismondo Fanti of Ferrara, which was also printed at Venice in the year 1526, and which, singular as it may seem, is furnished with the papal privilege, and dedicated to Clement VII, the then reigning Pontiff. The general arrangement and plan of the two works is similar, but in Fanti's book, which also abounds with xylographic decorations of a ruder kind, the interpreters of fate are signs of the zodiac, the constellations, the sybils, and various astrological personages; and the questions are resolved by metrical answers delivered in four line stanzas, to which the inquirer is directed, either by throwing a pair of dice, or by the accidental choice of a number on a dial which contains twenty-one figures. The richly decorated title of this book also displays considerable merit in the design, and some of the engravings in the course of the volume are well drawn; but it is upon the whole but a gothic specimen of the art, and cannot in this respect be compared with *Le Sorti.*

[1] Triompho di Fortuna di Sigismondo Fanti, Ferrarese. This title is printed in red capitals on a scroll at the top of a very spirited wood cut, serving as frontispiece. The description of this volume would occupy more space than I can allot to it: it is equally rare, but not equally beautiful with the preceding. The colophon is as follows; "Impresso in la inclita Citta di Venegia per Agostino da Portese. Nel anno dil virgineo parto MDXXVI. Nel mese di Genaro, ad instãtia di Iiacomo Giunta Mercatãte Florentino Con il privilegio di Clemente Papa VII. & del Senato Veneto a requisitione di l'Autore, Come appare nelli Suoi Registri. Cum gratia & Privilegio." Beneath is the Register and the device of the Giunti, a fleur de lis with I. A.

When the greater part of the foregoing sheets were printed, our friend Mr. Douce, in referring to his memoranda, found one he had made of a miniature in a manuscript in the library of the Duke of Roxburgh, wherein a courtly group was represented playing at Cards, and which manuscript he considered to be at least as early as the close of the fourteenth century. Upon inquiry it appeared, that when the noble collection in which Mr. Douce had seen it was dispersed, it had been purchased by Sir Egerton Brydges, of Lee Priory, in Kent, and upon application to that gentleman, the most prompt and polite attention was paid to our inquiries, and followed by the loan of the volume, and permission to have an engraving made from it. The manuscript was formerly in the Lamoignon collection, and was called by Baillet *Le Roman du Roi Artus*, but it appears he was mistaken, and that it is *Le Roman du Roy Meliadus:* it contains a great many limnings in rather a rude style of art, some of which are mere outlines, and others are completely illuminated, but they appear to be all by the hand of the same artist, and there is no reason to doubt that they were executed about the period at which the manuscript was written. The one from which the reader is now presented with a faithful engraving, was slightly shadowed in with colour, but not finished by the illuminator.

This may perhaps, on several accounts, be considered one of the most important discoveries which have been made, regarding the history of Cards, for it not only shews that they were in use in France at a much earlier period than has been hitherto presumed, thus destroying the assertions of *Bullet*, *Menestrier*, and *Daniel*, but it likewise demonstrates the probable truth of the conjecture we have thrown out, that the Trappola Suits were first generally used wherever Cards were introduced, and that the adoption of other objects on the French and German Cards was a subsequent innovation. It also renders it still more highly probable that these *Trappola* Cards were those derived from the East in the first instance. It will be remarked, that the Suits designated upon those Cards whose faces are displayed are the two and four of *Denari* or money,

and the two of *Bastone* or clubs. It is evidently a King and three noblemen who are represented playing; another nobleman is intently looking on, and two others are in attendance.



It affords us much pleasure to be the means of thus rescuing this curious and interesting document from oblivion, and it cannot but be agreeable to those who take any interest in these inquiries: let us be grateful to the diligent and tasteful discoverer, and to the liberality of the present possessor.

It is remarkable that no mention of the game occurs, as far as we could discover by an examination of that part of the manuscript to which the miniature is affixed, and indeed it appears that many of the decorations of the volume have no reference to the events related. This is also frequently the case in early printed books which have graphic ornaments; but it cannot be fairly urged as any argument that the embellishments of the Roman de Meliadus, are posterior to the writing of the manuscript, at least in any degree which would affect the early date of this very curious limning. We must

therefore qualify our conclusion in a former page, where we have said, that the silence of writers until the fourteenth century might be considered a demonstration that Cards were then unknown in Europe, for this document disproves that assumption, and it is not improbable that chance may some day produce written evidence which will corroborate it, and even establish the fact of their being used in Europe at a much more early period.

Until this shall be the case, the foregoing pages, it is hoped, will be found to contain more authentic information upon the subject than has hitherto been offered. If the conjecture here thrown out, of the oriental origin of Cards, and their derivation from Chess, be allowed to have much probability, there can be no doubt but that it would be possible to establish it more fully, by directing inquiries among the intelligent natives of the East, or by an examination of their writers, from both of which sources we have been unable to derive any of our evidence.

It would be unjust to pass over in silence the advantage we have derived in this part of our inquiry from the very ingenious Essay of Breitkopf, whom, if he had been less imbued with prejudice in favour of his native country, we should have been enabled to follow with more implicit faith. The authorities adduced by him, those cited by the Abbé Rive, and Bullet, have for the most part been referred to, and scrupulously examined; good fortune has thrown much additional matter in our way, of which we have endeavoured to make the best possible use.

Much however still remains to be done, for though we have shewn the probability of the origin of Cards among the same extraordinary people to whom the invention of Chess is attributed, and even demonstrated that it may be considered only an extension or alteration of that game; yet there can be no doubt that more extended researches properly directed, in the hands of a scholar, whose leisure and learning qualified him for the task, would lead to more decisive conclusions. The learned Hyde was in every respect fully competent to have atchieved this, his labours would have afforded com-

plete satisfaction, it is to be regretted that he did not fulfil the promise he made of giving a history of the origin of cards. Europe for the last two centuries has for the most part been contented to acquiesce in the assertions of some French writers, that they had their rise in France at a late period of the fourteenth century: the fallacy of this opinion is now clearly manifest, and those desirous of pursuing the subject, are at least here shewn the road it will be necessary for them to take.

In the next Section the connexion of the History of Cards with the origin of the Arts of Printing and Engraving on Wood, will be considered, giving a degree of importance to the inquiry, which, independently of this connexion, the subject might not be deemed to possess.

This connexion is of the closest kind, for the rise of these arts has been by many writers traced to the fabricators of cards: we shall perhaps have an advantage over many of our predecessors in this part of the investigation, as we have no national prejudice to indulge.

SECTION THE SECOND.

OF

THE XYLOGRAPHIC AND TYPOGRAPHIC ARTS

AS CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF CARDS.

OF THE

Xylographic and Typographic Arts

AS CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF CARDS.

BEFORE we proceed to speak of the manufacture of Cards, and the probable period at which they were first multiplied by printing, in Europe, we may be indulged in saying something respecting the origin of the Xylographic and Typographic Arts; by the former is understood the art of making impressions from designs or characters carved in relief on blocks of wood, by the latter, the art of printing with moveable types of metal, as now practised throughout Europe.

All those arts which are connected with others preceding them, and which take their rise from progressive combinations of several already in existence, have their origins necessarily involved in much obscurity; this arises from the circumstance of these beginnings having been passed over unobserved by those who have recorded the sudden appearance of the later invention, which has generally been of more importance, value, or utility. Hence it is now extremely difficult for the inquirer to penetrate through the darkness of remote ages, to develope the true origin of such arts, and trace the gradations by which they arrived at perfection. The rude attempts which led the way to this perfection, were not valued by cotemporaries, who were far from expecting that new combinations would progressively introduce other branches as sources of industry; or pave the way to an increase of human knowledge, affording at the same time the means of maintaining and preserving it.

This is particularly the case with regard to that sublime invention, the art of Printing, whose introduction must ever be considered, one of the most important and interesting events in the history of civilised Europe. To elucidate its history fully, cannot be expected from the limits necessarily prescribed by the nature of the present work; but to pass it over in silence would be highly reprehensible: its connexion with the subject here discussed is too intimate, and its importance too great, to admit of a mere hint at their connexion.

In tracing the origin of most complicated arts, it is difficult to decide upon the exact period which gave rise to the first germs. Several more or less civilized people, in regions far distant from each other, and without the probability of communication, have yet been found to practise similar arts, and to be possessed of similar inventions, differing somewhat in the degree of perfection to which they had been brought. It is not therefore impossible that the Chinese and other Asiatic nations may have known and practised the Art of Engraving on Blocks of Wood, and making impressions from them, and yet that Europe may not have derived this art from thence, but owe it to the inventive skill of some master genius of her own.

That the xylographic art was the precursor of the art of printing, and that the latter owes its rise to it, is universally acknowledged, but the period of its invention, or adoption in Europe is equally obscure and uncertain.

It has been supposed, that this art was known at a very early period in the East, from the circumstance of their coloured stuffs,[1] which are asserted to be of very high antiquity, being appa-

[1] Pliny has described the Egyptian process of forming their painted vestments in a curious passage in his xxxv Book. "*Pingunt et vestes in Ægypto inter pauca mirabili genere, candida vela postquam attrivere illinentes non coloribus, sed colorem sorbentibus medicamentis. Hoc cum fecere, non apparet in velis: sed in cortinam pigmenti ferventis mersa, post momentum extrahuntur picta. Mirumque, cum sit unus in cortina colos, ex illo alius atque alius fit in veste, accipientis medicamenti qualitate mutatus. Nec postea ablui potest: ita cortina non dubie confusura colores, si pictos acci-*

rently printed by stamps or blocks of wood, in the same manner as the European cotton prints. But presuming the art of engraving on wood to be of Eastern origin, we have no certain clue to guide us to the epoch of its introduction into Europe: the silence of the early travellers who have left memorials of their travels in the East, is much to be regretted, for neither *Carpini*, *St. Quentin*, *Rubruquis*, nor *Marco Polo*, have given the least hint upon the subject.

Those travellers who visited Asia at a later period, when the art had made considerable progress in Europe, have asserted the invention to belong to that ingenious and ancient nation, the Chinese,[1] and that the Europeans derived their knowledge of it from them; and although it would be difficult to substantiate this assertion by direct proof, it must be confessed, that, as far as regards tabular printing, there is no reason to doubt its probability.[2] It is true,

perit, digerit ex uno, pingitque dum coquit," *&c.* Lib. xxxv. C. 42. Brotier in a note on this passage observes, "*Viget adhuc ars illa maxime in India. His repertis, quam facilis fuit apud Sinas typographiæ inventio!*" *Hist. Nat. Paris*, 1779, 12° *T. vi. p.* 395, *note* 57. Breitkopf adduces the evidence of Sonnerat in his Voyage to the East Indies and China, and of Schulz, and Savary: the former says, that in Asiatic Turkey the contours of the flowers in their coloured cottons are printed with stamps, but they are finished by being painted by hand. There is a manufacture of this kind at Aleppo, but he thinks the art has been obtained from the Europeans. Others are decisively of opinion that the art was brought from the East to Europe. The German word *Zitz* (Chintz), according to Breitkopf, in the language of Hindostan signifies a flower. Savary describes the Indian mode of printing cottons, which he says is by means of a perforated pattern, or stensil. *Dict. du Commerce, T. iv. p.* 798. A distinct account of their process is found in a Persian author who wrote about 1317; the invention is laid about the years 927 and 1100.

[1] It is certain that the Portuguese Missionaries on their first visit to Japan, in 1549, found the art of block printing in use there; and Giovanni di Barros speaks of printed books, and particularly a cosmographical work which he obtained in China. Alvaro Semedo says, "Nella stampa par che la Cina tenga il primo luogo: perche conforme alli loro libri, si servono di quella da 1600 anni." RELATIONE DELLA CINA, p. 47.

[2] Kircher, in the following passage, judiciously distinguishes between the art practised in China and the typographic art, as invented and practised in Europe. "Multa prætereà in China reperta ante nostras in Europa inventiones, spectantur, et ad tria potissimum revocantur. Primum est typographiæ inventum, quod in quo consistat explico.

the discovery of the passage to India by the Portuguese, did not take place until forty years after the invention of printing, but the conformity between some European and Asiatic customs, even as early as the twelfth century, seems to indicate a more ready intercourse than is generally suspected; and Mendoza[1] has expressly asserted, that the Germans obtained their knowledge of the typographic art from China, by means of the merchants who came from thence to Russia by the way of Arabia Felix and the Red Sea, and who found their way from Russia into Germany. Be this as it may, it will become us to proceed with caution; and, as there are other equally probable means of accounting for the origin of these

" Certum est *Europæam* inventionem præstare Sinicæ, eò quod Sinenses non secùs ac apud nos imagines, suos libros imprimant; librum enim edituri, tot tabulas ligneas habere oportet, quot in libro folia sunt; ex hisce primum incipiunt incidere, et deindè ex prima tabula literis incisa tot imprimunt exemplaria, quot exemplaribus opus habent; deinde procedunt ad secundam, et sic de cæteris: Atque hoc pacto integras sæpè domos tabulis typographicis implent; et ideò valdè differt a nostra typographica inventione, in qua non singulæ voces, uti *Sinica* lingua postulat suis inciduntur peculiaribus tabulis, sed literæ, ut vulgo notum est, juxta alphabeticum dispositionem ex receptaculis, singulis literis correspondentibus collectæ, in voces et periodos formantur; deinde impresso folio, denuo dissolutæ literæ, singulæ suis redduntur cellulis; quæ res et minoris laboris est, et universale artis combinatoriæ opus. De hoc itaque invento, uti Sinis olim nihil innotuit, ita quoque typographicum inventum Europæ primo, eo modo, quo dixi, competit; imaginum enim imprimendarum ratio uti inventionis nomen non meretur, ità quoque et Sinica typographia; cum natura doceat in tabulis incisarum imaginum rimas, ubi atramento oppletæ fuerint, pressurà adhibitâ in charta imaginem incisam relinquere." Athanasii Kircherii China Illustrata. *Amst.* 1667, *folio. Cap. de Inventionibus à* Sinis *usitatis, p.* 222.

" Mendoza *Historia de las Cosas mas notables del gran Reyño de la China. Roma,* 1585, 8*vo.* After relating that the general opinion in Europe was in favour of the invention of printing by Gutenberg, he says, that the Chinese affirm its first origin was among them, and the inventor was a man whom they reverence as a saint. He proceeds, " *de donde se deribo y traxo mucho anos despues que ellos tenian el lusso al reyno de Alemania por la Ruscia y Moscabia: pordonde tienen por muy cierto se puede venir por tierra: y que mercaderes que venian de alla il dicho reyno, por el mar vermejo, y Arabia la felice, trageron, libros de donde Joan Cuthembergo (aquien las historias hazen auctor) tomo motivo.*" *Cap. xvi.* The whole chapter is curious; the title of it is, " De quanto mas antigua es la costumbre de estampar los libros en este reyno que en nuestra Europa."

important arts, to offer them in succession to the consideration of the reader.

That the xylographic art was exercised by the Chinese at a period long antecedent to its possible origin in Europe, is now universally admitted; and, according to Du Halde and the Missionaries, the art of printing from engraved blocks of wood was exercised by them near fifty years before the Christian æra. The nature of their language, which contains such an endless variety of symbolic figures, would have rendered any attempt at the use of moveable types abortive,[1] and thus the ancient mode of tabular or xylographic printing is still the only method they use. The process which has been described by various writers[2] is briefly as follows.

[1] Yet the ingenuity of the Europeans has in some measure overcome the difficulty, for the ingenious Breitkopf, who distinguished himself by many improvements in the art of printing, put forth in the year 1789 a Specimen of Chinese Characters formed from moveable pieces *Exemplum Typographiæ Sinicæ e typis mobilibus compositum.* Lipsiæ e Typographiæ Autoris, 1789, 4to.

I know not whether he found encouragement to pursue the matter farther; but the recent publication in France of that great national work, the Chinese Dictionary, under the superintendence of M. De Guignes, is another monument of the perseverance and extraordinary skill of Europeans in the typographic art. Perhaps the obstinate prejudices of the Chinese in favour of their own customs, in arts as in every thing, is the most insuperable obstacle both to the adoption of the press, and any attempt of this kind.

[2] Du Halde Description de la Chine, Tom. II. p. 299, 4to. 1736.

Semedo Relatione della Cina, p. 47. As his relation is curious I will transcribe it: the reader will be surprised to see, that the lithographic as well as the xylographic art was practised by the Chinese at this period.

"In printing, it seemeth that China ought to have the precedence of other nations; for according to their books they have used it these 1600 years; but it is not (as I said before) like unto ours in Europe. For their letters are engraven in tables of wood. The author of the book ordereth what kind of letter he will have, either great, little, or middle sized; or rather he giveth his manuscript to the graver; who maketh his tables of the same bigness with the sheets that are given him; and pasting the leaves upon the tables with the wrong side outwards, he engraveth the letters as he findeth them; with much facility and exactness, and without making any errata; their writing not being on both sides the paper, as among us, but on one side only; and the reason that their books seem to be written on both sides is, because the white side is hidden within the fold.

They print likewise with tables of stone; with this difference, that then the paper is made all black, and the letters remain white; because when they print thus, they lay the ink upon the superficies of the stone, but in the tables of wood, they put

The subject to be engraved is drawn or written accurately upon very thin paper, which suffers the object to be distinctly seen on the reverse; this paper is pasted or cemented, with the written or drawn side downward, upon a piece of pear tree, or other close grained wood, of the required size, which has been previously smoothed and made very true, the design or writing being distinctly seen from the transparency of the paper; the artist proceeds to cut away the wood with sharp instruments in all those parts where he finds nothing traced, leaving the design or writing in relief; it is obvious that in printing a book as many blocks are required as there are pages. The press, which should appear to be altogether an European invention, was not used by the Chinese, nor have they yet adopted it. Their mode of taking impressions from these blocks is as follows: the block is securely fixed in a level position, and the printer has two brushes, one rather stiffer than the other; with the one he spreads the ink equally over the surface of the characters or design upon the block, and it is said that he can take off three or four impressions without renewing the ink in the brush, which is of a broad flat form, and can be used at either end. The second brush he uses to pass over the paper, pressing lightly, in order to take the impression, which, from the absorbent nature of the paper used, is readily done; sometimes a rubber is substituted for this second brush, and in this simple manner does the Chinese artisan effect his purpose, with a neatness and precision which is not ex-

it only in the hollow of the engraving. This last manner of printing serveth only for epitaphs, pictures, trees, mountains, and such like things, whereof they do desire to have the memories preserved; and they have very many prints of this kind. The stones which serve for this use, are of a proper and particular kind; their wooden tables are made of the best pear tree. So that any work which they print (as they do in great numbers) remaineth always entire in the print of the tables, to be reprinted as often as they please, without any new expense or trouble in setting for the press, as there is in our printing. Every one hath the liberty to print what he pleaseth without the supervising, censure, or licence, of any one; and with so small charges, that for every 100 letters perfectly engraved in the manner abovesaid, they pay no more than fourpence halfpenny; and yet every letter consists of many strokes." *Old English Translation.*

ceeded by the best productions of the European printer, even in the present improved state of the art.

It will be manifest that the beauty of the work will depend entirely upon the degree of skill of the scribe or copyist: many of their books are of very great beauty, and their modern productions evince that they have improved very much in the arts of design: the address of their engravers upon wood is very manifest, and their execution is reported to be extremely rapid. One disadvantage attends this mode of printing, which is the vast accumulation of blocks, and the room required to preserve them when they are out of use: it is said the place where they are deposited is generally mentioned in the preface of the work; but it has also its conveniencies, for, as in the modern European process of stereotype printing, a small number of copies may be pulled off just sufficient to meet the demand, and a new edition can be made at pleasure, without incurring the expense of composition.[1] After having printed thirty or forty thousand copies these blocks will again bear retouching.

Their books are printed but on one side, and two pages are sometimes engraved on one block; the paper, when printed off, is then folded in the middle, the two blank pages inward, and when the work is bound or sewed together the plait or fold forms the outer margin, so that every leaf appears as if printed on both sides. Du Halde says, that one man can print ten thousand leaves in a day in the manner above described, but it must be confessed that this number is an exaggeration beyond all possibility of belief.

[1] It may be observed that moveable characters are not entirely unknown in China, as is testified in the following passage from GROSIER RELATION DE LA CHINE, t. 2. p. 438. 8vo. Paris, 1787.

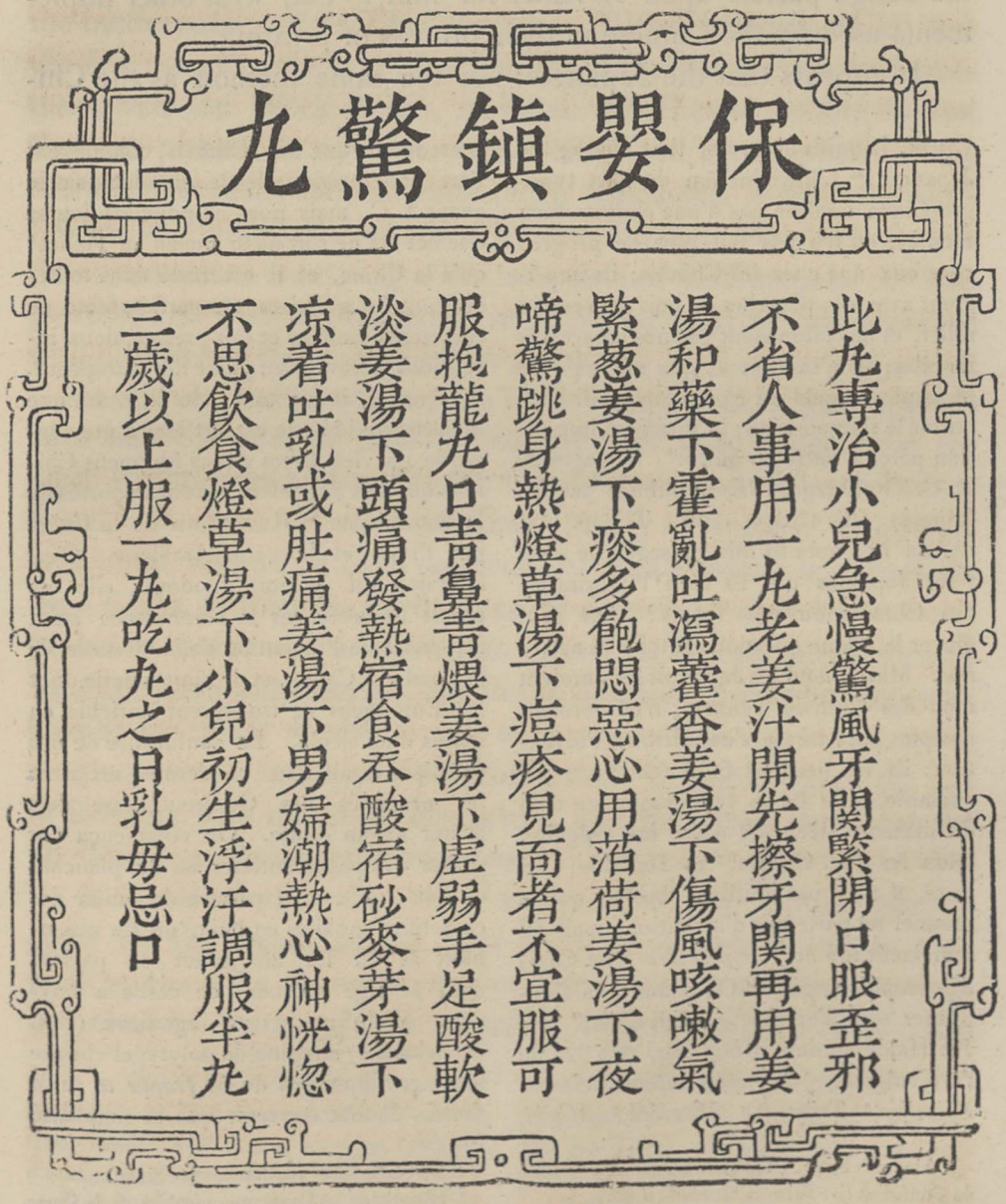
" Les Chinois, n'ignorent pas l'usage de nos caracteres mobiles, ils ont aussi les leurs, non en fonte mais en bois. C'est avec ces caracteres qu'on corrige tous les trois mois L'Etat de la Chine, qui s'imprime a Peking. On imprime aussi quelquefois de la meme maniere quelques livrets qui ont peu d'etendue."

" L'usage de nos presses n'est point connue dans les Imprimeries Chinoises: les planches gravees, qui ne sont que de bois, et le papier qu'on ne trempe point dans l'eau d'alun, ne pourroient supporter cette pression."

Sir George Staunton[1] has accounted very satisfactorily for the reason why the simple art of xylographic printing should have taken its rise in China, rather than among the two great nations of antiquity, or in Europe in her uncivilized state, for "unlike to the rest of the world, where valour and military talents, occasionally united with natural eloquence, were originally the foundation of all wealth and greatness, while literature was little more than an amusement; the study of the written morals, history, and policy of China, was the only road not merely to power and honour, but to every individual employment in the state. The necessity, therefore, for such a multiplicity of copies of works of learning for all persons in the middling as well as upper classes of life, in the most populous of all empires, was the early and natural parent of the art of printing, as it is still practised among them."

[1] Sir George Staunton's account is somewhat at variance with that of *Grosier:* he says, "It has sometimes been thought in Europe, that moveable types were a preferable invention to that of the Chinese; but they seldom can be applicable to the impression of writings in a language consisting like theirs, of a vast variety of characters, if each character be considered a letter in the alphabet. The compositor in a printing office easily distributes the four and twenty letters of an alphabetic language. He at once perceives where each is to be found. He distinguishes them at a glance. His hands acquire even the habit of reaching rapidly, without looking for them, as the fingers learn to touch the keys of a harpsichord without turning the eyes toward them. Were there many thousands of such keys, it is obvious that no such habit could be acquired, nor could the keys be within reach. The practice were equally impossible, in printing with eighty thousand moveable types, for of that number of different characters the Chinese tongue consists. It has not, indeed, occurred to the artists of China to form moveable and separate types, for each of the minute strokes or elements, of which such characters are composed, as has been attempted some years since in Germany. It is possible that such a practice might be found to answer notwithstanding the difficulty which must arise from the minuteness of the type necessary for each particular stroke; and the further difficulty, of uniting, in the impression, the several strokes, marked by separate types, of a Chinese character, which does not exist in printed European languages, where the letters of the same word seldom touch each other. The Chinese are contented, whenever the same characters very frequently occur, as in public Kalendars and Gazettes, to use types for such, cut apart, and occasionally inserted within the frames where they are wanted." EMBASSY TO CHINA. vol. 3. p. 109. 8vo. edition.

We have been fortunate enough to meet with an original Chinese Block, formerly in the possession of Mr. Astle, and as the best exemplification of the subject an Impression from it is here subjoined.



Another block of this kind, most skilfully engraved on both sides, is in possession of Mr. Douce; and in the Museum at the India House may be seen a block prepared for the engraver, with the design pasted upon it ready for him to cut, with other implements used by the Chinese in their process of printing.

It appears that the Japanese[1] use the same method as the Chi-

[1] M. Langlés observes, that among the Japanese " L'introduction de l'art typographique ne date pas d'une epoque bien reculée, et n'a pas fait plus de progrés chez eux que chez les Chinois; ils imprimient avec des planches de bois gravées en relief, et ne connoissent pas nos caractéres mobiles; ils n'impriment que sur un côté du papier, lequel est trop mince pour supporter le reimposition; la premiere impression perce d'outre en outre." Voyages de P. C. Thunberg au Japon publiée par M. Langlés. T. 4. 8vo. 1796. T. 3. p. 114.

And in a note to this passage, he says, " les Japonois ont ils recu l'imprimerie des Chinois ou des Tatars? On peut élever la même question sur tous les autres arts. Mais quand les Japonois les auroient reçu des Chinois, ceux-ci, n'en seroient pas plus autorisès a s'en attribuer l'invention: ils ne peuvent faire remonter, par exemple, celle de la typographie au-delà du dixieme siècle de notre ère vulgaire, selon les PP. Couplet[1] et Duhalde;[2] au reste, il n'est pas inutile d'observer que le premier ne parle pas d'invention, mais dit seulement *sub hoc (imperatore Mim Çum) typographia cœpit.* " On commenca d'imprimer sous l'empereur Mim Çum," que Du Halde nomme *Mingtsong*, vers 925 de l'ère vulgaire. Quelques auteurs, tels que *Spizelius*,[3] *Trigault*,[4] *Mendoça*,[5] *Maffei*, pretendent que les Chinois connoissent l'art typographique dès le cinquieme siecle avant J. C. mais nous ne pouvons douter que cet art ne soit aussi ancien au Thibet[6] qu'a la Chine, et il est resté dans toutes ces contrée, grossiers et imparfait, faute de caracteres mobiles et des presses, deux inventions reservées au génie des Européens. A la verité, il y a tout lieu de croire que la premiere idée de cet art leur a êté suggérée par les livres ou les fragmens Chinois que des négocians auront apportés de la Tatarie par la Russie, ou de la Chine par l'Inde et le golfe Arabique. C'est l'opinion du jesuite Mendoça; elle me paroit appuyée sur la coincidence assez frappante de l'invention de la boussole, de la poudre à Canon, et de l'imprimerie dont les Européens se trouverent enrichie en moins d'un siecle. La conformité de nos premiers essais dans ce dernier art avec les procédés des Orientaux, ne doit laisser aucun doute. On commença par graver des pages entières sur des planches de bois; on essaya ensuite de tailler des caractères mobiles en buix, on les assembloit et on les assujettoit en passant dans la tige un bout de corde a boyaux. Enfin un artiste ingenieux (Fust ou Schæffer) imagina de polytyper chaque lettre par le moyen de la *frappe et de la fonte.* Il faut convenir que la simplicité

[1] Monarch Sinic. Tabula Chronolog. à la suite du Confucius sive Scientia Sinensis, p. 65.

[2] Descript. de la Chine, T. 1. p. 414.

[3] De re litteraria Sinensi, p. 800.

[4] De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas.

[5] Historia de las Cosas mas notables de la Cina, Lib. III. c. xvi.

[6] Alphabetum Tibetanum, Pars 1. p. 900.

nese, with whom they possess most arts in common. There is some difference in the periods assigned for the invention of the art in China by European writers: it should appear by the note of M. Langlès cited below, that the probable period was at least prior to the tenth century of the Christian æra. He has also remarked, that the first essays in the typographical art of the Europeans, the Donatuses, and the Block Books, resemble the Chinese books, in that they are printed on one side only, and also in the simplicity of the mechanical means used to print them, which was indeed the same process of rubbing off, practised by the Chinese. He observes, that the circumstance is striking of the invention of the Compass, of Gunpowder, and Printing, about the same period; Europe was enriched with all three of them in less than a century.

It must be confessed, that the block books, both in their appearance and the process used to engrave and print them, bear the most striking resemblance to the Chinese books, which are embellished with cuts. This resemblance, it may be argued, is possibly accidental, and as we have no record of the art having been brought from China to Europe, all that can be done is to shew it is not improbable that it was brought from thence: it is true, Mendoza and Ramusio have both asserted, that the art of printing was obtained from China; for this it would be vain to contend; it is the xylographic art alone which could have been obtained. Typography, or the Art of Printing with moveable characters, and the Press, there can be no doubt, are European inventions.

It is remarkable, that the description of the Chinese process given by Du Halde, should bear so exact a resemblance to that used by the early *Formschneider*, or engraver on wood in Germany, described by Brietkopf[1], as to make it obvious almost beyond the

et la regularité de nos lettres a pu les inspirer cette idée et en faciliter l'execution, tandis que nous sommes obligés d'epuiser toutes les resources de la typographie, parvenue déjà a un haut dègré de perfection pour rendre bien imparfaitement encore les différens caractéres orientaux; on n'a même fait, jusqu'à present, que des essais peu satisfaisans pour imprimer le Chinois en caractères mobiles."

[1] Ursprung der Holzschneidekunst II. Thiel. p. 160.

possibility of doubt, that the Europeans derived it from thence. He says, " After the artist had planed a plank of pear-tree wood, and neatly shaven and polished it with a piece of sharp iron, or glass, he either pasted the design inverted upon the wood, or if he was an adept in his art, he rubbed it off on the plank. In the former case, the original drawing was entirely destroyed, and he cut in the wood, whatever design he found upon it, exactly in the manner he saw it; in the latter case, it was in his power to correct whatever was not distinctly expressed. He then cut with a small sharp instrument on each side all the lines in the design before him, and leaving whatever was marked with colour, he chiselled the remaining wood away with other instruments, and thus when his labour was completed, all the lines which formed the object represented in the drawing, existed in relievo. To make impressions of his work, he took lampblack, dissolved it in water, and reduced it to the consistence of paint; or instead, he used common black ink, as is still sometimes done by cardmakers; poured some of it on a wooden trencher, and filled a long-haired brush with it, which he passed over his wooden plank or block, and in this manner he covered the prominent lines of his wood-cut with as much colour as was necessary for an impression. He then laid wet paper upon it, and passed over it a smooth broad piece of wood, or a thick horse-hair brush smoothed with oil, and continued this operation to and fro, until he perceived that all the lines of the wood plank were imprinted on the paper, which was then removed from the block, and his work was finished." This is precisely a similar account to that given by those who have described the Chinese method; and although the dark veil of obscurity is drawn over the name of the travellers who brought this important invention to Europe, the route by which they may have found their way, pointed out by the Jesuit Mendoza, is sufficiently probable.

The following curious relation of Marco Polo, who was in China for eighteen years, about the middle of the thirteenth century, will make it manifest that the Chinese then practised

a mode of printing or stamping with coloured ink, and is another proof of the early practice in the Eastern world of making such impressions from seals, or stamps.[1] He says, " In this city of Cam-

[1] The passage, as printed in Ramusio, is as follows. " Della sorte della moneta di carta, che fa fare il gran Can, quall corre per tutto il suo dominio." Cap. 18. In questa Città di Cambalù e la zecca del gran Can, il quale veramente ha l'alchimia, però che fa fare la moneta in questo modo. Egli fa pigliare i scorzi de gli arbori mori, le foglie de' quali mangiano i vermicelli, che producono la seta, & tolgono quelle scorze sottili che sono tra la scorza grossa, & il fusto dell'arbore, & le tritano & pestono, & poi con colla le reducono in forma di carta bambagina, & tutte son nere, & quando son fatte, le fa tagliare in parte grande, & picciole, & sono forme di moneta quadra, & piu longhe, che larghe. Ne fa adunque fare una picciola, che vale un denaro d'un picciolo tornese, & l'altra d'un grosso d'argento Venetiano, un'altra è di valuta di due grossi, un'altra di cinque, di dieci, & altra d'un bisante, altra di due, altra di tre, & cosi si procede sin'al numero di dieci bisanti, & tutte queste carte, overo monete, sono fatte con tant'auttorità, & solennità, come s'elle fossero d'oro, o d'argento puro, perche in ciascuna moneta molti officiali, che a questo sono deputati, vi scrivono il loro nome, ponendovi ciascuno il suo segno, & quando del tutto è fatta, com'ella dee essere, il capo di quelli per il Signor deputato, imbratta di cinaprio la bolla concessagli, & l'impronta sopra la moneta, sì che la forma della bolla tinta nel cinaprio, vi rimane impressa." Navigationi et Viaggi Raccolto da Ramusio, T. II. fol. 29.

Ramusio boasts in the preface to this volume, that he has printed the Voyages of M. Polo, " by means of several manuscripts written upwards of two hundred years previous to his time, (as he believes) perfectly correct, and by far more faithfully than those which had then been printed.—It is extraordinary, that in two Latin editions which I have seen, this chapter is considerably abridged: instead of the ample account of the process of making this paper money, the following brief one is substituted: " *Moneta magni Cham non fit de auro vel argento, aut alio metallo, sed corticem accipiunt medium ab arbore mori, & hunc consolidant atque in particulas varios & rotundas, magnas et parvas scindunt atque regale imprimunt signum,*" &c. It is true the Latin text would sufficiently establish the fact of the seal or stamp being printed on this paper money, but the detail, as found in Ramusio, is much more satisfactory; how it has arisen that Müller, (who published an edition of the book in Latin in 1671,) should have omitted these additions from the Italian text, as he has mentioned the discrepancies which existed between it, the old Latin text, and his own, I am at a loss to imagine. It is said that these Travels were written in Latin, by a Genoese gentleman, from the dictation of Marco Polo, while in prison; that copies were quickly multiplied, and that they were immediately rendered into Italian: this text, therefore, as Ramusio took great pains in the collation of manuscripts, and from his residence at Venice, had better opportunities than Müller, is perhaps, on the whole, to be preferred before any other; it is generally more full and circumstantial than the Latin, and I should think at least of equal authority. Colomesius, in his " *Recueil*

balú[1] is the treasury of the great Cham, who may be truly said to be an adept in alchemy, for he makes money in the following manner. He causes the bark to be taken from the mulberry trees, whose leaves are eaten by the worms that produce silk, and taking that thin rind which is between the rough bark and the trunk of the tree, it is washed and pounded, and then with size reduced into the form of paper: it is quite black, and when finished it is cut into large and small pieces, which form a sort of square money,[2] rather longer than it is wide. He causes some small ones to be made, which are of the value of a small penny, *tournois;* and others of the value of a Venetian silver groat; others of the value of two groats; others of five, of ten; some others of one *Besan*, of two, of three, and so on as far as to the value of ten *Besans*. And all this paper, or money, is made with as much authority and solemnity, as if it was of fine gold or silver, for on each piece of money several officers, who are deputed for that purpose, write their names, each one affixing his mark, and when all is finished as it should be, the principal

de Particularitez," says, that Vossius shewed him an ancient edition of Marco Polo's Voyages, in 8vo. containing many things not in Ramusio's text; but he does not mention whether this edition was in Italian or Latin.

The above curious passage has given rise to a Dissertation of M. Langlès, on the Paper Money of the Ancients, published in the Memoirs of the French Institute. (*Memoires de Litterature et Beaux Arts, T. IV. p.* 115.) In which, although it is the chief evidence he has to adduce, he is contented to take the relation from a French Version, published in the Collection of Bergeron, at Amsterdam, in 1735: he establishes the verity of this relation by other undoubted testimony, and particularly from the Traveller's Manual, *Hhabyb ûs-seir,* of Mirkhoud: he does not however assert, that European financiers adopted the idea from the Chinese, although he deems it probable. The whole of the Memoir is curious and well deserving perusal.

[1] Cambalu, *Khânbalek,* the City of Pekin, then so called.

[2] Specimens of this paper money are no doubt still in existence; for, according to M. Langlès, it seems the Chinese "hold them in the highest estimation, and seek eagerly to possess them, particularly when they are building their houses. Those who have the good fortune to procure any, suspend them to the principal beams of their dwelling as a great curiosity, and even as a kind of talisman; for many connect certain superstitious notions with them, and believe that they will preserve the house and its inhabitants from all manner of accidents. MEMOIRES de LITT. *ubi supra.*

officer, deputed by the Cham, *smears with cinnabar the seal consigned to him, and imprints it upon the money, so that the figure of the seal coloured in cinnabar remains impressed upon it.*"

There can be little doubt, as this circumstance arrested the attention of Marco Polo, that the xylographic art then exercised by the same people, must have made a strong impression on him, unless we can conceive it was familiar to him, and that he had previously seen it in use at Venice; but even then we may be surprized at his silence, and no more probable reason can be offered to account for his omission of it, than that he deemed it of too little importance: it should be recollected it was not then the wonderful art which two centuries afterward astonished and enlightened Europe, and which, by many, in that rude age was attributed to magic and supernatural agency. It is much to be regretted that he had no motive to induce him to afford us his testimony on the subject; for as most of his facts have been established by the evidence of other travellers in later times, his book has become one of those which may be cited with some degree of safety, although it was long considered little more than a tissue of romantic and improbable fabling.

Ramusio, who appears to have taken considerable interest in the relations of Marco Polo, directed his inquiries among the Oriental merchants who frequented Venice, in order to ascertain what degree of credit was attached to them. Among others, he applied to a well-informed Persian, named Chaggi Memet, who had been at Succuir and Campion, and from him he obtained much information, that established the verity of many of the circumstances related in Marco Polo's voyage. He says he learned from him, " That they have the art of printing in that country, by which they print their books: and desiring to ascertain whether their method of printing was similar to that practised in Europe, he accompanied him one day to the printing office of M. Tomaso Giunti, at San Giuliano, in order to let him see it: and when the Persian had seen the letters of pewter, and printing presses, he said there appeared to him a great similarity

between them."[1] This inquiry of Ramusio's is extraordinary, as Marco Polo does not mention the art of printing, nor even the xylographic art; but the curious passage respecting the fabrication of paper money, cited from him above, decisively proves that the art of printing, or stamping with a coloured menstruum, was then practised in the East, and there is no reason to doubt but that block printing was also in use there; although for some reason, which it is now difficult to divine, no mention is made of it in the relation of this intelligent and observing traveller.

We proceed to notice the arts of a similar kind, which were practised by the Etruscans and the Romans, who are known to have used stamps of wood and metal with which they marked their earthen ware[2], and it will scarcely admit of doubt, that the latter at-

[1] *For the satisfaction of the curious reader I transcribe the original passages.* "Mi pare necessario ch'io particolarmente descriva quel poco che gli anni passati hebbi venturà d'intendere *(da un huomo Persiano di molto bello ingenio e giudicio)* chiamato Chaggi Memet, nativo della provincia di Chilàn, appresso al mare Caspio, d'una città detta Tabas. Et era personalmente stato fino in Succuir, essendo dipoi in Venetia quelli mesi venuto con molta quantita di detto Rheubarbo."——"che egli era stato a Succuir & Campion Cittadi della provincia de Tanguth nel principio del stato del gran Cane:" *and afterwards he gives* "un breve sommario fattomi dal sudetto Chaggi Memet, d'alcuni pochi particolari della Citta di Campion & di quella gente;" *among which is the following memorandum:* "Hanno la stampa in quel paese: con quale stampano suoi libri: et desiderando io chiarirmi se quel loro modo di stampare è simile al nostro di quâ, lo condussi un giorno nella stamparia di M. Tomaso Giunti à San Giuliano, per fargliela vedere: il quale vedute le lettere di stagno, & li torcholi con che si stampa, disse parergli che havessero insieme grande similitudine." Ramusio Raccolta di Viaggi, T. II. fo. 14, 16. Edizione di 1574.

[2] Niebuhr found in Egypt on the spot where the city of Athribis is supposed to have stood, a fragment of glazed earthen ware, on which figures appeared to have been impressed when the clay was in a soft state. He has given an engraving of it. *Voyages en Arabie. T.* 1, *p.* 98. *Tab. XI. Fig. A.*

The skill of the Etruscans, or rather of the Greeks, in ornamenting their vases, is well known, from the splendid work of Sir William Hamilton. According to Caylus, the process of laying on the coloured ground of the figures is supposed to have been effected by means of a pierced metal plate, now commonly called a stensil. That the ancients impressed written characters upon their earthen vessels, by means of types or stamps, appears certain: in digging for the foundations of buildings at the ancient *Aretium*, Arezzo, and at Pesaro, the ancient *Pisaurum*, many fragments and vessels were found, with characters thus impressed upon them, as

tempted to make impressions upon other materials. The exactness and precision with which some of the figures are many times repeated on the painted covers of mummies, seems to indicate some mechanical mode of producing them. The coloured stuffs which have been already mentioned as of high antiquity in India,[1] were also common to the Egyptians, as may be seen by the passage cited from Pliny in a former page.

The *Stampillæ*, or Metal Stamps, consisting of monograms, names, marks of goods, &c. in use among the Romans, afford examples of such a near approach to the art of printing, as first practised, that it is truly extraordinary there is no remaining evidence of its having been exercised by them, unless we suppose that they were acquainted with it, and did not choose to adopt it for some reasons of state policy.

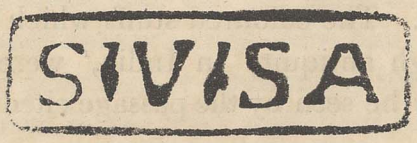
The custom of sealing, or stamping with coloured inks appears to be of the highest antiquity in the East,[2] and is still practised there: the Romans may have derived it from thence, and possibly impressed their signatures and monograms with a thick ink, by means of these Stampillæ, at least that they were equally applicable to this purpose may be fully demonstrated. We are enabled, by the kind indulgence of a much valued friend, to present the reader with Impressions from some of the Original Stamps, numerous spe-

Passeri relates in his *Istoria della Pittura in Majolica*, printed in the *Raccolta d'Opuscoli di Calogera*. Ven. 1758.

[1] It is somewhat remarkable, that a similar art was found to exist among the inhabitants of the Islands in the Pacific, upon their discovery by Captain Cook. He obtained some of the Stamps with which they printed the borders upon their garments. These borders are described as being executed in the same manner the Europeans print their cottons; and the patterns though rude, neatly executed, and not deficient in taste.

[2] This is proved by many passages in the Scriptures; by the passage cited in a former page from Marco Polo; and the modern practice is mentioned by Della Valle, Dapper, and Olearius, the latter of whom describes the ink as a kind of paste. I have seen some Chinese red ink of a most beautiful colour, in the possession of a friend, which appears of this description; and though it readily dries when applied to paper, it ever preserves its paste-like form in the mass; at least it has done so for two or three years.

cimens of which enrich the very valuable Cabinet from whence they were obtained.



This became the more desirable, as it has never yet been done, and as it will show how nearly the ancients approached to the invention of this valuable art. For we have here the art itself in its first or simplest form; and although we have no evidence to adduce of the ancients having used them for the purpose of making impressions with ink, there is nothing which renders such an application of them improbable.

The practice prevalent among the successors of Charlemagne, and the Frankish monarchs,[1] of affixing their signatures to written

[1] MURATORI, in his "*Antiquitates Italicæ, T. 3. Dissert. 35. p.* 118." mentions such seals with deeply carved letters: what he says of the beauty and elegance of some of the monograms used by the successors of Charlemagne is particularly worthy of remark. "*Scilicet inter monogrammata Augustorum et Regum, quæ in Diplomatis a tempore Caroli Magni per aliquot sæcula visuntur—nonnulla interdum occurrunt mihi delineata characteribus tanta elegantia ac linearum ductu adeo delicato ac uniformis impressis, ut facta mihi suspicio fuerit non calamo sed stabili aliqua tabella fuisse monogrammata illa efformata.*" PAPENBROCH, in his *Propyl. Antiquar. in Baringii Clavis Diplomatica, p.* 273, quotes a similar passage from *Wilthenii Annal. San-Maximin.* "*Inveniri aliqua Henrici Regis IV. Imp. III. tanquam propria ejus manu firmata, cum monogrammate grandi, æquabili et eleganti: sed quod clare apparet Typo impressum esse, non calamo ductum.*" It has been said, that Maximilian the first used three seals, termed *Drie stamp*, in order to prevent the counterfeiting his signature; but this assertion has been controverted, as there is no monogram of that monarch in existence, which appears to have been formed in this manner. It is,

documents by means of such seals or stamps, is another instance of the application of the art; and it seems likely these stamps were at first made of wood. Possibly such wooden stamps were also used in the formation of the *Bracteatæ*[1] or hollow coins; and even these metal stamps, which appear to have been cast, and not engraved, would require a mould or pattern, which was probably carved in wood: yet these applications of the art may be said to have but a remote connexion with xylography. On the decline of the Roman Empire the Franks, who possessed themselves of the Roman territories, were not so uncivilized but that the arts had made some progress among them: their inclination to cultivate the science of Architecture is demonstrated in the numerous churches[2] they erected, not after the noble Grecian and Roman models, it is true, but in that bold and fanciful stile, since denominated the Gothic; which, although it approach not to the grand simplicity of the art among the two great nations of antiquity, yet, in its complicate arrangement, and admirable disposition of its parts, required genius to invent, and uncommon geometrical skill in the execution.

however, only conjectured that these seals were made of wood; for Charlemagne brought with him from Italy all the arts, and employed numberless artists and artificers in the decoration of his palaces; and these seals may have been cut in metal, or cast, as were the Roman *Tesseræ*.

[1] The Stamps by which they were formed were most probably cut in *alto relievo;* for it appears from several edicts, "*de falsis monetis,*" at this early period, that it was an easy matter to counterfeit them. The figures on them are extremely rude and barbarous. The Romans are known to have sometimes cast their coins, and the sharpness of the relief was occasionally afterwards increased by stamping them with a die. *V. Caylus Recueil d'Antiquités, T. I. p.* 286. *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. T. II. and VII.* Perhaps as these moulds were of earth, they were formed by wooden stamps cut in relief.

[2] The first churches built were probably the work of Romans who were converted to christianity. In the fourth century there were Bishops at Mentz, Worms, Spire, Strasburgh, and Cologne. At the commencement of the fifth century, the splendid church of St. John, at Metz, was pillaged and destroyed by Attila. The minster at Strasburgh was built in the year 510; that of Ulm, A. D. 596. The number of erections considerably increased under Charlemagne. It is the opinion of some writers, that the Mosque of Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, and the Arabian Mosque, at Cordova, served as models for most of the sacred edifices of celebrity, which were afterward erected in the Gothic stile.

In the reign of Charlemagne,[1] arts and manufactures were widely diffused throughout the extended limit of his empire, and Breitkopf has said, "that the number of artists and artisans who then flourished, and were dispersed all over Germany, cannot be contemplated without astonishment, which increases when it is ascertained that soon after his death artists were sent for from thence to Italy; a requisition of Pontiff John VIII. in the ninth century to Anno, Bishop of Freysingen, to send him an organ builder, may be particularly noticed, as affording decisive evidence of the superiority and skill of German artisans at this period."

When Christianity became more universally spread over the face of Europe, the cultivation and consequent diffusion of knowledge of every kind was greatly increased by the foundation of monasteries and religious houses, in which it is well known that lay brothers were admitted, who were occupied in the practice of mechanical and other arts, which were consequently propagated wherever they were established.[2]

[1] The Stewards of Charlemagne's farms were directed to procure and receive good artists. "Ut unusquisque Judex in suo ministerio bonos habeat artifices, id est, fabros ferrarios et *aurifices* vel *argentarios* —*tornatores*—et reliquos ministeriales, quos numerandum longum est." See this Emperor's *Capitularia de Villis*, cap. xxv. in Heineccii Corpus Jur. Germ. Antiq. Halle, 1738. 4to. p. 614.

[2] BROWER, in his *Antiquitates Fuldenses*, L. i. c. 11, says, That many of the monks devoted themselves to the arts of painting, statuary, and working in metals. This is also confirmed by *Goldastius, Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores*, Tom. i. p. 109. And another German writer in the History of the famous Monastery of Hirschau, says, "The tenth abbot William, in 1069, rebuilt and enlarged the monastery: at that time there were 150 monks, of which those who were not capable of clerical occupations, were engaged in other labours of a mechanical nature. Twelve of the most learned were employed in copying manuscripts; there were beside sixty lay-brothers, all of whom were artisans; as carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c.: there were also fifty assistants in lay habits who performed the more servile part of daily labour." v. *Trithemii in Chronicon Hirsaugensis.*

The establishment of schools in these Monastical Institutions was regulated by an edict of Charlemagne, who also ordered them to instruct the people by means of passages taken from the scriptures. It is possible that to this circumstance we owe those numerous manuscripts which come down to us of Biblical Histories, generally embellished with rude designs of the subjects of the principal events recorded, and which are known under the various titles of *Biblia Pauperum, Specu-*

On the emergence of Europe from its uncivilized state, the monks were the first who devoted themselves to the study of architecture, which was much cultivated by them, and arrived at a high degree of perfection in their hands. Calligraphy was also another art which received considerable attention; and when the essential parts of each of these arts had arrived at a certain degree of advancement, decoration and ornament were sought for, and gave rise to the arts of design and sculpture, among them. The former served to enrich and illustrate their manuscripts and missals, the latter their altars, shrines, choirs, and stalls, with carvings in relief; Mosaic work, painting, and glass-staining, were also practised with considerable success; and even at this remote period of time sufficiently numerous monuments of their labours exist, to demonstrate that these arts arrived at a high degree of perfection in their hands.

It has been said that the sculptures or carvings in wood which enrich many parts of some of the earliest monuments of Ecclesiastical architecture, might have led to the invention of the Xylographic art; the figures in relievo which are seen on fonts, stalls, and monuments, may have furnished the idea of the first engraved blocks from which impressions were taken. It is sufficiently remarkable that the Sister or Chalcographic art,[1] is also sup-

lum Humanæ Salvationis, Ars Memorandi, Vita Christi, &c. Public instruction too was aimed at in the carvings, paintings, and glass staining of these religious orders. It is remarkable that the first attempts of the Xylographic art to supply the place of the labours of the monastic scribes, was made upon these very works; and it must be confessed by all who have had opportunities of comparing them, that they bear no small degree of resemblance to the manuscripts, those which are coloured more particularly. A very ancient cut of St. Bridget, which I saw in the collection of Lord Spencer, and which is most probably, at least, of the fourteenth century, seemed to have been coloured by means of a stensil or pierced metal plate, with colours of the same nature with those used in painting these designs in manuscripts. The outline appeared to have been taken off with the same grey distempered colour with which the early block books are printed, and in the same manner, by friction with a brush or rubber, as is evident on inspection of the back of the print. Of this singular curiosity, it is the intention of Mr. Ottley, to present us with an exact fac-simile in his History of Engraving.

[1] This subject will also be fully illustrated in Mr. Ottley's History of Engraving. The discovery of an impres-

posed to have had its origin by mere accidental discovery, from the plate engraved by the Goldsmiths, for the purpose of being filled with Niello, and that it was perpetuated by the natural desire of the artist to have some memorial of works on which he had bestowed much labour and skill.

These arts were used by the monks as auxiliaries to facilitate their labours in conveying instruction to the people. The mysteries of Christianity, the events of Sacred History, but above all the legends of Saints, were thus conveyed to them, in a more lively manner than by oral instruction. The exactness with which some of the beautiful initial letters in early ornamented MSS. are repeated, makes it almost certain that they had some mechanical mode of multiplying the outline: this was most probably effected by means of a stamp engraved on wood,[1] and if there is any foundation for the supposition, it was then but a short step to the rude figures of saints, &c. which are supposed to have been the first productions of the art with a view to impression on paper.

Italy, ever the mother and nurse of the arts of design and sculpture, after the dreadful devastations she suffered, was yet the first

sion from a Pax, engraved for the purpose of being filled with Niello, has established the claim of Finiguerra to the invention; and, it is hoped, put an end to all controversy. The fortunate discoverer of this circumstance was the Abate Pietro Zani, who has given an accurate fac-simile of the print, and ample proofs on the subject, in his *Materiali per servire alla Storia dell' Origine e de Progressi dell' Incisione in Rame e in Legno.* Parma 1802, 8vo.; a work which we have had frequent occasion to refer to in the course of our inquiry. In justice to my friend Mr. Ottley, it should be observed, that some time before he was made acquainted with the discovery of Zani, and the consequent proof which it afforded, he had drawn up a brief essay on the subject; in which he had pointed out the same facts, and established them. Mr O. is in possession of an impression from another Pax, also engraved by Finiguerra, with a fac-simile of which the curious in Chalcography will be favoured in his forthcoming work.

[1] It is worthy of remark, that the art of Printing was in many places first exercised in religious houses. At Rome, for instance, in the Soubiaco Monastery; at Paris, in the Sorbonne; in England, at Westminser and St. Albans. Upon inspection of the "Boke of Hawking, Hunting, &c. by Dame Juliana Berners," printed at the latter place, it forcibly struck me, that the coats of arms in various coloured inks, and the initials printed in red, were impressed by the hand with stamps cut in wood, and not by means of the press.

country where these arts revived and received cultivation, and also the first country where these pictorial helps to devotion would be supposed to have had their birth. The Italians, it is well known, exercised the arts of design and sculpture several centuries previous to the introduction of those arts among the more northern nations of Europe, and their intercourse with the people of the Eastern world, even as early as the eleventh century, supposing the art to have been derived from thence, would naturally make us look for its European origin among them.

That this was the case we should have the strongest possible reasons for concluding, if the very interesting account of the labours of the two Cunio given by Papillon, could be received as an undoubted fact. It has of late, however, obtained that attention which its truth-like semblance should have claimed for it long since. Zani has patiently investigated it, and adduced some facts which clearly establish the points relating to the existence of the family, and to the occurrence of the name of Alberico frequently in its annals. Mr. Ottley has entered much at large into the question, and supported the arguments of Zani in its favour, in a very able manner; this precludes the necessity of enlarging upon it here, and we shall content ourselves with giving the relation as it is to be found in Papillon's work, in the note beneath.[1] Merely observing that there

[1] Papillon's relation is as follows:

"When a young man, I was employed by my father almost every working day, to go out arranging and hanging our papers for the decoration of rooms. In 1719 or 1720, I was at the village of *Bagneux* near *Mont Rouge*, at M. de Greder's, a Swiss captain, who had a very pretty house there. After having decorated a closet for him, he got me to paste some paper, resembling Mosaic, on the shelves of his library. One afternoon he surprised me occupied in reading a book, which caused him to shew me several very old ones he had borrowed of a Swiss officer, his friend, to examine at his leisure. We discoursed together concerning the prints that were in them, and upon the antiquity of wood engraving. Here is the description of those ancient books, such as I wrote it before him, and which he was kind enough to explain and dictate to me.

"In a Cartouche, or frontispiece, of grotesque and gothic, yet agreeable, ornaments, about nine inches long, by six inches high; with the arms, no doubt, of the Cunio at the top; are rudely engraved, on the same block, these words in bad Latin, or ancient gothic Italian, with many abbreviations:

is no apparent motive which could induce the Swiss gentleman to impose upon an unsuspicious young man a story, which, if a fabri-

"THE CHIVALROUS ACTIONS IN FIGURES of the great and magnanimous Macedonian King, the worthy and valiant Alexander; dedicated, presented, and humbly offered to the most holy father the Pope, Honorius IV. the glory and support of the church: and to our illustrious and generous father and mother, by us *Alexander Alberico Cunio*, Knight, and *Isabella Cunio*, twin brother and sister; first reduced, imagined, and attempted to be done in relief, with a small knife, on blocks of wood smoothed and polished by that learned and dear sister, continued and compleated unitedly, at Ravenna; after eight pictures of our invention, painted six times as large as here represented, engraved, explained in verse, and thus marked on the paper, to perpetuate the number, and to be enabled to give them to our friends and relations in gratitude, friendship, and affection. This was done and finished when each of us were only sixteen years old." He proceeds: "This Cartouche is surrounded by a strong line $\frac{1}{12}$ of an inch thick, some light strokes form the shadows of the ornaments which are unequally executed without precision. The impression was made with a pale indigo blue in distemper, and according to appearance, with nothing but the hand passed several times over the paper when laid upon the block, in the same simple manner as the Card-makers do their directions and wrappers of Cards. The ground or great field of the engraving having been imperfectly cut out in some parts and having received part of the colour, has smeared the paper, which is greyish, and has occasioned the following words to be written on the lower margin, pointing out a remedy. They are in gothic Italian, which M. de Greder had some difficulty to decipher, and were certainly wrote by the hand of the Chevalier Cunio, or his sister: on this proof, apparently the first taken from the block, they are thus here translated:

The ground of the blocks must be more cut away, in order that the paper may not touch it any more in making the impression.

"Following this frontispiece are the subjects of the eight pictures engraved on wood, and of the same size surrounded with a similar strong line, and also some light strokes denoting the shadows. To each of these prints, at the bottom between the strong line of the frame and another placed about a finger's breadth from it, there are four Latin verses engraved on the block, which explain the subject poetically, and above is the title of each of them. All the impressions are similar to that of the frontispiece, being spotty or greyish, as if the paper had not been moistened or damped before they were made. The figures passably designed, although in a semi-gothic taste, are pretty well characterised and draped. It is perceptible that the arts of design were then beginning by degrees to resume their vigour in Italy. Under the principal figures their names are engraven, such as Alexander, Philip, Darius, Campaspe, &c.

"FIRST SUBJECT. Alexander mounted on Bucephalus, whom he has tamed; on a stone are these words: *Isabel. Cunio, pinx. & scalp.*

"SECOND SUBJECT. The passage of the Granicus; near the trunk of a tree these words are engraved: *Alb. Cunio, Equ. pinx. Isabel. Cunio, scalp.*

"THIRD SUBJECT. Alexander cutting the Gordian knot. On the pedestal of a

cation, must have been composed with much more skill, attention, and research, than is usual where a mere playful imposition for the

column are these words: *Alexan. Albe. Cunio, Equ. pinx. et scalp.*

" Fourth Subject. Alexander in the tent of Darius. This subject is one of the best composed and engraved of the whole collection. On an end of drapery these words are engraven: *Isabel. Cunio, pinxit & scalp.*

" Fifth Subject. Alexander generously giving his mistress Campaspe to Apelles, who was painting her picture. The figure of this beauty is very pleasing. The painter appears transported with joy at his good fortune. On the floor in a sort of antique table, are these words: *Alex. Alb. Cunio, Eques. pinx. & scalp.*

" Sixth Subject. The famous battle of Arbella. Upon a mound of earth are these words: *Alex. Alb. Equ. & Isabel Cunia, pictor & scalp.* This subject is also one of the best composed, designed, and engraved.

" Seventh Subject. Porus vanquished, is brought before Alexander. This design is equally beautiful and remarkable, as it is very nearly like, in point of composition, that of the same subject by the celebrated Le Brun: it would even almost seem that he had copied this print. Alexander and Porus have each equally an air of grandeur and magnanimity. On a stone near a bush, are engraved these words: *Isabel Cunio, pinx. & scalp.*

" Eighth Subject. The glory and the great triumph of Alexander, upon his entry into Babylon. This piece is pretty well composed, and like the sixth, was done by the brother and sister conjointly; as these characters engraved at the base of a wall testify: *Alex. Alb. Equ. & Isabel Cunio, pictor & scalp.* At the top, this print has been torn; a piece, about three inches in length, by one inch in height, is wanting.

" Upon the blank leaf which follows this last print, are these words badly written in old Swiss characters, hardly legible, because they had been written with pale ink.

" This precious volume was given to my grandfather, John James Turine, native of Berne, by the illustrious Count Cunio, chief magistrate of Imola, who honoured him with his courteous friendship. It is, of all my books, that which I esteem the most, on account of the mode in which it came into our family; and on account of the science, the valour, the beauty, and the noble and generous intention of the amiable twins, Cunio, to gratify their relations and friends. The following is their singular and curious history, as my venerable father has related it to me frequently, and I have had it written more fairly than I could have done it.

" What follows is written with blacker ink, in the same kind of characters as the preceding, but much better formed.

" The young and amiable Cunio, twin brother and sister, were the first children of the son of Count Cunio, who had them by a noble and beautiful Veronese lady, related to the family of Pope Honorius IV. when he was but yet a cardinal. This juvenile nobleman had espoused the young lady clandestinely without the knowledge of any of their relations, who, having discovered it from her pregnancy, they caused the marriage to be dissolved, and banished the priest who married the two lovers. The noble young lady equally fearing the anger of her father and that of Count Cunio, took refuge with one of her aunts, where she was delivered of these twins.

sake of recreation is intended. That the character of Papillon for veracity was undoubted, is acknowledged even by those who have

Nevertheless Count Cunio, out of regard for his son, whom he obliged to marry another lady of noble family, permitted him to have these children brought up in his house; and this was done with all the tenderness and care in their education possible, as well on the part of the Count, as on that of his son's wife, who conceived such an affection for Isabella Cunio, that she loved and cherished her as if she had been her own daughter; equally loving Alexander Alberico Cunio her brother, who as well as his sister was of a mind richly endowed, and of a most amiable disposition. They both profited well by the lessons they received from their masters in the various sciences, particularly Isabella, who at thirteen years was already considered a prodigy; for she knew and wrote Latin perfectly, composed verses, understood geometry, had skill in music, could play on several instruments, and began to design and paint with taste and delicacy. Her brother emulated her example, and strove to equal her, yet confessed frequently that he felt he could never arrive at her degree of perfection. He was nevertheless one of the most amiable young men in Italy; in beauty he equalled his sister, and was possessed of courage and nobleness of soul, together with an uncommon degree of facility in acquiring and perfecting himself in all things to which he applied. They were the delight of their friends, and perfectly loved each other; so that the pleasure or chagrin of the one was participated by the other. At fourteen years of age this young gentleman knew the horse manege, was well practised in arms, and in all the exercises of a young man of quality; he also knew Latin, and painted very well.

" The troubles of Italy having occasioned his father to take up arms, he was at his repeated solicitation suffered to accompany him in that same year,* to make his first campaign under his eye. He had the command of a squadron of twenty-five horsemen, with whom, for his first essay, he attacked and put to flight almost two hundred of the enemy, after a vigorous resistance; but his courage having carried him too far in the pursuit, he found himself surrounded by some of the flying soldiers, from whom, with unequalled valour, he nevertheless succeeded in rescuing himself, without other injury than a wound in his left arm. His father, who was hastening to his succour, met him returning with one of the enemy's standards, with which he had bound up his wound. He embraced him, overjoyed at his brilliant achievements; and at the same time, as his wound was not very considerable, and wishing to reward such extraordinary valour upon the spot, he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood (although he was a Knight already in right of birth), performing the ceremony in the place where he had given such manifest proofs of his extraordinary courage.

" The young man was so transported with delight at this honour, which he received in sight of the troops his father commanded (then become Count Cunio, from the death of his father, which had recently happened), that, wounded as he was, he immediately asked his permission to go and see his mother, to inform her of the glory and honour he had just acquired; this the Count the more readily granted, as he was glad to have an opportunity of

* i. e. In his fourteenth.

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not given credit to this relation; and Heinecken asserts his conviction that he did not invent it. It would, if admitted, afford an

testifying to that noble and afflicted lady (who had continued to remain with her aunt a few miles from Ravenna) the love and esteem which he had ever continued to entertain for her; and of which he would certainly have given realisation, by re-establishing their marriage, and by espousing her publicly, if he had not felt bound to retain the wife his father had obliged him to take, by whom he had also several children.

" The new knight set out, therefore, immediately, escorted by the remains of his troop, out of which 8 or 10 men were killed or wounded. With this equipage and escort, who bore testimony to his valour wherever they passed, he arrived at the dwelling of his mother, with whom he staid two days; after which he went to Ravenna, to render a similar mark of respect to his father's wife, who was so charmed with his noble achievements, and his attention to her, that she herself conducted him by the hand to the apartment of the charming Isabella, who seeing his arm in a sling, was at first much alarmed. He remained a few days in this city; but, impatient to return to his father, to achieve new exploits, he took his departure, although he was not yet well of his wound. The Count reprimanded him for not having sent back his troop, and for not remaining at Ravenna until he was cured. He would not permit him to act during the rest of the campaign; and he sent him home shortly after, when his arm was perfectly healed, saying to him pleasantly, that he wished not to be outdone by him during the remainder of the time they should continue in action that year. It was soon after this that Isabella and he began to compose and execute the pictures of the Actions of Alexander. He made a second campaign with his father; after which he continued to work at these pictures conjointly with Isabella, who set about reducing them, and engraving them on blocks of wood. After these pieces were finished, and they had printed and presented them to Pope Honorius, and to their friends and relations, the young knight joined the army for the fourth time, accompanied by a young nobleman, one of his friends, called Pandulphio, who, enamoured of the amiable Isabella, was desirous of signalizing himself, that he might be more worthy of her, before he espoused her. But this last campaign proved fatal to the Cavalier Cunio, who was slain by numberless sword-wounds at the side of his friend, who was dangerously wounded in attempting his defence. Isabella was so much affected by the death of her dear brother, which occurred when he was not quite nineteen years old, that she determined never to marry: after this event she did nothing but languish, and died when she had scarce completed her twentieth year.

" The death of this beautiful and learned young lady was followed by that of her lover, who had still hoped by his attentions and attachment to engage her at length to make him happy,—and also by that of her mother, who could not survive the loss of her beloved children. The Count Cunio, who had been deeply afflicted by the death of his son, could scarcely support that of his daughter. Even the Countess Cunio, who loved Isabella very tenderly, fell ill with grief for her loss: and the Count would have sunk under it

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isolated record of the existence of the Xylographic art in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century, and would also lead us to suspect that it was an art which had been already long familiar to that nation, and thus tend to account for the reason of the silence of Marco Polo, upon the subject of the exercise of it among the Chinese.

It is to be regretted that there is no connective chain of evidence which might unite this solitary example with the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century; at which period it is certain that the art was commonly exercised: for the wood-cut representing a surgeon named Scoting with the supposed date of 1384, discovered

also, had he not been supported by his manly fortitude. Happily the health of the Countess was by degrees reestablished.

"Some years afterwards the generous Count Cunio gave my grandfather this copy of the Actions of Alexander, bound as now it is;* I have had the leaves of paper added, upon which I have caused this history to be written."

"It is very certain," says Papillon, "from the name of Pope Honorius the IVth engraved on the title of these ancient prints of the Actions of Alexander, that this precious monument of Wood Engraving and impression was executed between the years 1284 and 1285; because that Pope to whom it was dedicated and presented, only governed the church during two years, from the second of April, 1285, to the third day of the same month in the year 1287. Thus the epoch of this ancient engraving is anterior to all the most ancient books printed in Europe, that are at present known. Mr. Spirchtvel, the officer who possessed this copy, the friend of M. de Greder, was one of the descendants of this Jan. Jacq. Turine, who was his mother's ancestor. The death of M. de Greder, which took place some years ago, prevents me from being able to learn where this book is now to be seen, so that its authenticity might be established in the eyes of the public, and that which I have written receive confirmation. There is every reason to suppose, however, that the copy which was given to Pope Honorius may be preserved in the Library of the Vatican at Rome." This is the simple and interesting relation of Papillon, which certainly does not appear in the least like a fabrication for the purpose of deceiving the reader. Indeed those who have not given it their credence, have vouched for the simplicity and integrity of Papillon, and have thought that it was possible his informant, M. de Greder, might have either been mistaken in the date, or have intended a harmless piece of raillery, in deceiving this unsuspicious and zealous young man. If this was the case, it is rarely that so well contrived a fraud originates from such motives, and in such a sudden manner; indeed this latter supposition is altogether so incongruous, as to have no place in our belief.

* Papillon, in a note to this passage, says, "This ancient and gothic binding was made of thin wooden boards, covered with leather, flowered in compartments, as if stamped or marked simply with an iron a little hot without gilding. The worms had attacked this cover, which is pierced by them in many places."

in the public library at Lyons, proved in the sequel, to have been made two centuries older than its real date by the ignorance of the discoverer, who mistook the old Arabic numeral figure 5 for 3. It is true that a seal or stamp, supposed to have been engraved on wood, bearing the name of one Plebanus of Augsburg, and the date 1407, was found impressed on many manuscripts and books, in the library of the monastery of Rothengburg in Upper Bavaria; yet even this is not with certainty known to have been engraved on wood, and the date which stands thus MCCCCA. has been doubted. Other engravings on wood have been brought forward as executed at a very early period of the fifteenth century, but it has been from similar mistakes in the discoverers.

Thus Paul Von Stetten published an account of a Biblia Pauperum engraved by Frederick Mauker and Hans Huring of Nordlingen in 1414, which he found in the library of the Carmelites at Augsburg. But when other more accurate eyes examined the book, it appeared that he had mistaken the figure of 7 for 1, and that the authentic date was 1474.

Baron Von Hupsch of Cologne, published in 1787, an account of some wood-cuts which he presumed to have been engraved there in 1420. But Breitkopf asserts that they were part of the prints of a Biblia Pauperum, in which it was intended to have given the explanations by means of moveable characters beneath the cuts, and that consequently they were most probably posterior to 1470. He does not give his reasons for this conclusion; but he says, as no such edition of the Biblia Pauperum is known, the work does not appear to have been ever completed.[1]

The earliest dated specimen of the Xylographic art hitherto discovered, which can be adduced as an undoubted document, is the celebrated cut of St. Christopher bearing the infant Jesus, with a metrical inscription and the year 1423 at the bottom: we owe the discovery of this curious and interesting monument to Heinecken, who found it pasted in the interior of the cover of a MS. volume

[1] These instances are cited on the authority of Breitkopf.

in the library of the Chartreuse at Buxheim in Suabia. In the same volume was also another cut, evidently of the same period, and probably by the same artist, the subject of which is the Annunciation. This volume is entitled *Laus Virginis*, and is now with its valuable contents in the magnificent collection of Earl Spencer. The inscription at the bottom of the cut, which is printed with black ink, and has been afterwards coloured apparently by means of a stensil, is as follows:

Cristoferi faciem die quacunque tueris, } Millesimo CCCC°.
Ille nempe die morte mala non morieris. } X°. tertio.

As descriptions of both these cuts are to be found in Mr. Dibdin's Catalogue of Books printed in the fifteenth Century, in the collection of Lord Spencer, and portions of each of them are there engraved; and as it is Mr. Ottley's intention to give an accurate fac-simile of the St. Christopher, and a reduced representation of the Annunciation, it will not be necessary to enter into any detail upon the subject.

These Cuts are considered by Mr. Ottley as bearing evidence in the style of design, that they are the production of Italian artists, but the circumstance of their being found in Germany, and the Gothic inscriptions on them, are something to urge against this opinion. They cannot, however, be considered as fixing the epoch of the Invention of the Art, for they are evidently not the productions of its extreme infancy; many of the specimens afforded by the very curious collection of Cuts published from the original Blocks by Bekker,[1] have a manifest claim to precedence.

[1] *Gravures en Bois des Anciens Maitres Allemands tirées des Planches Originales recueillies par J. A. Derschau, publiées avec un discours sur la nature et l'Histoire de la Gravure en Bois, par R. Z. Bekker. Gotha,* 1808-10. 2 *parties en fol. atlant.*

This work affords specimens of the very rudest beginnings of the xylographic art in Europe, and also a series, showing its gradual advances toward that perfection to which it arrived at the commencement of the sixteenth century. It is very interesting to trace the progressive steps by which this art was advanced from these rude gothic representations in outline, to the elaborate and beautiful productions which bear the name of Holbein, Albert Durer, and Hans Lutzelburger. The sub-

These cuts are both of them coloured, and apparently by means of pierced metal plates, commonly called Stensils, in the manner used to colour the ancient playing Cards. In common with most

jects of many of these cuts may also serve as documents, illustrating the history of manners, costume, and even the mode of thinking, at this remarkable period. Bekker's patriotism, like that of Breitkopf and Heinecken, has led him to conclude, that the Germans were the first European nation who exercised the art; but he thinks it is more probable that its beginnings were the figures of saints, than the figures on Playing Cards. Among them are several repetitions of the subject of St. Christopher, which appears to have been a favourite one with these ancient artists, as was the legend of this saint with the elder poets of our own nation; for beside the author of the Metrical Lives of the Saints, quoted by Warton, it has been versified by William Warner, the author of that excellent, and in many parts, highly poetical, Poem of Albion's England. The former describes St. Christopher thus:

" Four and twenti feete he was longe and thikk and brod inouh."

As an agreeable specimen of Warner's style of narration I will transcribe his account of this Giant Saint.

There was a man of stature bigge,
And bigge withall in minde,
For serve he would, yet one than whom
None greater he might find.
He hearing that the Emperor
Was in the world most great,
Came to his court, was entertaynd,
And serving him at meate,
It chanced that the Divell was nam'd,
Whereat the Emperor him blest;
Whereas untill he knew the cause,
The pagan would not rest.
But when he heard his Lord to fear
The Divell his ghostly foe,
He left his service, and to seek
And serve the Divell did goe:
Of Heaven or Hell, God or the Divell
He erst nor hear'd nor cared,
Alone he sought to serve the same
That would by none be dared.
He met (who soone is met) the Divell,
Was entertayned, they walke,
Till coming to a crosse, the Divell
Did fearfully it balke.
The Servant musing, questioned
His master of his feare,
One Christ, quoth he, with dread I mind
When does a crosse appeare.
Then serve thyself the Gyant said,
That Christ to serve I'll seeke;
For him he ask'd a Hermit, who
Advised him to be meeke;
By which, by faith, and workes of alms,
Would sought for Christ be found,
And how and where to practice these
He gave directions sound.
Then he that scorned his service late
To greatest Potentates,
Even at a common ferry now
To carry all awaites;
Thus doing long, as with a Child
He over once did waide,
Under his loade midway he faintes
From sinking hardly staide:
Admiring how, and asking who,
Was Answered of the Childe,
As on his shoulders Christ he bore,
By being humbly milde,
So through humilitie his soul
To Christ was reconcilde.
And of his carriage CHRIST OFER
Should thenceforth be his name.

productions of the period to which they belong, they set the laws of perspective at defiance. Many dateless performances of the same kind, which may be of the latter end of the fourteenth century, or beginning of the fifteenth, are in existence: they are generally no more than rude outlines, having been intended to pass through the hands of the Illuminist, without whose aid some parts of the subject or design would be totally unintelligible.

Having explained fully why Cards are to be presumed, with great reason, of Eastern Origin, and the possibility of their being only a varied modification of Chess, we should have been happy to have demonstrated that they were in use in the East previous to the first notice of them in European writers: this our ignorance of oriental languages has possibly deprived us of the pleasure of doing; but we trust that the hints here thrown out may excite some more competent hand to pursue the inquiry in those sources whence only complete satisfaction on this head is to be derived.

The same cause precluded us from giving any account of the manner in which the ancient Cards, in use in the Eastern World, were formed; whether by printing or painting; but that both the Chinese and Hindoos made them of paper, there can be no doubt, as the art of manufacturing it from cotton is of the highest antiquity among them, and it is not doubted that the Europeans derived their knowledge of it from them. This cotton paper was so stout and smooth, as to render it highly proper for the purpose: it is presumed that pasteboard, as now formed by cementing together several sheets of paper, is a later European invention, which has probably given rise to the name of Cards, from the Italian *Cartone*;[1] and it

[1] *Vossius*, in his *Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ, voce* CHARTA, derives it from χαρτης, and cites a curious etymology of it by Eustathius, who deduces it from χαρασσω, which is, says Vossius, *insculpo, inscribo, imprimo.* It is curious that in most ancient languages the words, which signify *to write,* are drawn from roots which express the action of graving, or tracing furrows or lines, as γραφειν, in Greek; *scribere, exarare,* in Latin; *rita,* Islandic; *writan,* in Saxon; *wryten, ryten,* in old Flemish. The ancient Danish terms for Runic characters *run, ryn,* also have the same signification. This proves that the first kind of writing was by making an incision, and not by superficial marking.

has been seen that they bore the name of *Carte*, as well as that of *Naibi*, in Italy, at the close of the thirteenth century.

But that paper was not the only material of which they formed their cards, may be fairly presumed, as we see that they now use thin leaves or tablets of ivory. That they were at first designed and painted by hand, must likewise be concluded: and there can be no reason to doubt that this was also the case at their first introduction in Europe. It has been seen that in the year 1392, a comparatively small price was paid for three packs or games of cards, painted for Charles the VIth of France;[1] and it appears that the very considerable sum of fifteen hundred gold crowns was paid by the Duke of Milan for a single pack, in the year 1430. All that can be inferred from this circumstance is, that the cards painted for the latter were richly embellished, and of very superior workmanship.

To this period also may be referred a splendid pack, described by *Lanzi*,[2] which he had seen in the cabinet of Count Giacomo Du-

[1] It is the opinion of my friend Mr. Ottley, that, unless some more expeditious mode of fabricating Cards than painting them had been then in use, it would have been impossible for Gringonneur to furnish three packs for the very trifling sum of fifty sous, when we see that the Duke of Milan, at a period very little posterior, paid the enormous sum of five hundred gold crowns for a single pack. With deference to this opinion, I submit that it is possible the Cards of Gringonneur were very rude performances, seeing that a mad King could have but little discrimination in works of art. And as it appears that those painted for the Duke of Milan were of the *Tarocco* kind, which, from the number of figured Cards, were more susceptible of ornament, and in point of number perhaps nearly equal to three packs of common Cards, we may fairly suppose the difference in the quantity and quality of labour, could operate even to the extraordinary degree of disparity which is found in the sums paid. At the same time the expression "*a or et a diverse couleurs*" seems to imply, that Gringonneur's Cards were painted, and not printed: it should be observed too, that he is called *Peintre*. Had there been any solid ground for Mr. Ottley's conjecture, the French writers would have seized upon it with avidity.

[2] E a questa epoca (*cioè il principio del* 1400.) par da ridurre quelle antichi carte da giuoco, che nel ricco gabinetto avev' adunate il Sig. Conte Giacomo Durazzo gia Ambasciatore Cesareo in Venezia; passate ora in quella del Sig. Marchese Girolamo suo nipote. Sono di grandezza superiore d'assai alle odierne, e di assai forte impasto, simile alle carte bambagine de'

razzo; they were much larger than the cards in modern use, the figures painted on gold grounds, the paper of which they were made similar to that used in early manuscripts, the suits those in common use among the Italians; clubs, swords, and pence. The style of art similar to that of Jacobello del Fiore, but Lanzi was told by experienced judges that the outline of them was printed, and the colour filled in by means of stensil plates, and says they are the most ancient monument of this kind with which he is acquainted.

If Lanzi, and those whom he consulted, are right in their judgment that these cards have their outlines really printed, and if the period to which they are assigned be correct, they must be considered as a most important document in support of the origin of the xylographic art among the Cardmakers; and a strong argument might be deduced from them in favour of the claims of Italy to the earliest exercise of the art. The gold grounds upon which they are said to be painted manifest that cards, after the invention of the mode of multiplying them by mechanical means, continued to be more richly decorated for personages of distinction than for the people, in the same manner that books, and particularly missals, continued to be written, and richly embellished, long after the invention of Printing.

It was much about the period when Calligraphy, and the other elegant arts which had hitherto been almost exclusively cultivated in religious houses, left their monastic abodes, and became diffused among and cultivated by the laity, that the productions of the xylographic art also seem to have considerably increased, if not to have had their rise. It becomes therefore a very plausible conjecture, that this art, which had as yet been confined to the purpose

codici antichi. Vi sono espresse le figure in campo d'oro nel modo che si e descritto a pag. 36. e sono tre Regi; e in oltre due Donne, due Fanti, uno a cavallo, ed ha ciascuno o bastone, o spada, o denajo, ... Il disegno molto avvicinasi a quello di Jacobello del Fiore, il lavori a periti e paruto a stampa, i colori dati per traforo. Monumento piu antico non so in tal genere.

Lanzi Storia Pittorica d'Italia. T. 1. *p.* 86. *Ediz. di Milano* 1809. 8*vo.*

of producing the rude images of saints, and other devotional objects, migrated with them from the convents where it had hitherto been only practised, and was eagerly seized upon by the painters of cards and images, as a means of very much abridging their labours in the production of these objects, which they had till then been accustomed to paint and design by hand. It seems certain that cards were in pretty general use, at least very early in the fourteenth century, and probably long before the adoption of this art in the manufacture of them.

The demand for these fascinating objects, when it became possible to attain them at a moderate price, would naturally increase; and thus the art of engraving on wood arose to considerable consequence, and the productions of it soon became a most important article of commerce: this supposition is countenanced by the circumstance of the names *Kartenmacher* and *Kartenmahler* occurring earlier in the rolls of the corporations of the German cities than either the appellation *Bildermahler*, *Bildermacher*, *or Briefmahlers*. At Augsburg, in 1418, the *Kartenmachers* are mentioned in the town book;[1] the Cardmakers were, however, also employed in engraving devotional images, as well as the objects of their own peculiar profession; for at Ulm,[2] Brietkopf says, they have still a tradition, that they were formerly called *Bildermachers*.

[1] *Breitkopf Ursprung der Spielkarten, II. Thiel, p.* 159.

" Augsburg (says M. Roch, upon the authority of Breitkopf), may after all lay strong claim to be considered the first seat of the art of engraving on wood. For, although we do not find playing at cards prohibited in this city until 1461, yet in none of the cities of Germany do we find the engravers on wood registered among the Burgesses so early as in this city, where the Cardmakers are mentioned in the town roll (*Bürgerbuche*) as early as 1418. From this circumstance, says he, it may be inferred, that they also were the first who extended their trade without the limits of that city." He says also, " It is a well founded conjecture which gives the wood cut of St. Christopher, with the date of 1423, to Augsburg."

[2] The same authority says, " It is highly probable, considering the great number of Cardmakers who were completely and sufficiently employed in that branch of the art, that the secession of (*Bildermahler's*) painters of images, took place between the years 1400–1430; and they were, by the appellation of *Briefmahler*, distinguished from the Cardmakers, who, on account of the extensive sale of their cards abroad, had adopted its foreign name." *Ibid.* 160.

In Suabia, where the xylographic art flourished at a very early period at Algau and other parts of that province, the common people still denominate all coloured papers and prints *Halgen* and *Halglein*[1] (saints and little saints), which proves how common such objects must have been among them at a more remote period, and affords a strong inference that they were the first objects produced by this art, on its first adoption there.

When these *Bildermachers* applied themselves also to the fabrication of Cards, which soon became popular and in great request, their former appellation was probably lost in that of their newly adopted business, although both objects continued to be manufactured by the same artist. It has been already mentioned, that Cards were at first known in Germany by the appellation *Briefe*, and thus the artists who manufactured them were called *Brief-mahlers* (literally sheet painters); it is rather extraordinary, therefore, that the term *Kartermacher*, should have been the name by which they are found to be first mentioned. The name of *Brief-mahler*, as applied to Cardmakers, and of *Briefe*, as signifying Cards, can only be accounted for by the circumstance of their being manufactured by the same persons who fabricated the images of saints with moral sentences.

Whatever may have been the origin of the xylographic art, there

[1] " The word *Dominotier* evidently comes from the Latin *Dominus;*" says Breitkopf, " it is the denomination which the French at that time gave to the image of God, of Christ, and of the Saints. These kind of images of saints were known by the name of *Les grecs-bons Dieux* among the common people of France a long time after. Nothing can be more evident than the imitation of the Netherland *Heilige Printers* (Saint Printers), and of the German *Halgen* and *Halglein* (saints and little saints), from the French name *Dominotier*. Equally striking is the similarity in the denomination of coloured paper, *Dominoterie*, with the custom still prevalent in Suabia, of calling all painted sheets of paper *Halglein*. The art of making coloured and marbled paper is acknowledged by the French themselves to be a German invention, and imported from thence into France." Ibid. 175.

It is remarkable, that this argument has been made use of by Mr. Ottley, who was not aware that it had been adduced by Breitkopf. Mr. O. derived his information from Mr. Fuseli. The passage will be found in a note at page 85 of his History of Engraving.

is very little doubt, that, from these Cardmakers and fabricators of images of saints,[1] we derive the invention of printing in its first rude form, as it appears in the Block books: for it has been clearly shewn, that they printed and sold books at a later period;[2] and that these Block books excited the idea of the invention of moveable characters is pretty generally allowed. The gradual progress from these images with inscriptions to copies of the historical drawings annexed to the biblical histories was natural and easy; a series of these would, of course, follow, with explanations annexed, engraved on the same block. These aids to the devotion of the people were succeeded by the Donatuses, or brief grammars for the instruction of youth; which are recorded not only to have led the way to the invention of Typography, but to have been among the first books attempted to be executed with moveable types. Thus we have a sufficiently obvious explanation of the manner in which the Art of Printing arose: it remains to examine the claims of Mentz, and of Harlem, to the meed of fame which its invention confers.

The Germans, for more than a century, by all writers who recorded the origin of this sublime art, were considered the inventors;

[1] The striking resemblance of many of these early wood cuts of saints, both in shape, size, and style, to the early playing cards, of which we have given facsimiles, is sufficient to warrant the supposition that they were the production of the same artists. It would, however, be difficult to decide which object took the precedence, and was first engraved: confessing that, for our own part, we incline to the opinion which gives it to the objects of devotion.

[2] Heinecken, *Idée generale d'une Collection d'Estampes, p.* 252, mentions a small volume in quarto, with the following Colophon: Ein fisier Buchlein auf allerhaud Eich; gedruckt zu Babemberg von Hanzen Bryeff-Maler hynden Sant Marteyn da findt man sic zu Kauffen und seynd gerecht im LXXXVII. Jare. This proves clearly that the *Brieffmalers*, or Cardmakers, printed and sold books at a late period of the sixteenth century; and at page 287 he says, "I might also mention *Junghanns* of Nuremburg, who, at the beginning of his edition of the *Ent-krist*, in 1472, calls himself *Priefmaler*. I could also cite Hans Sporer, who thus designates himself at the end of the *Ars Moriendi*, printed by him in 1473, Hans Sporer 1473 hat diss puch pruff-moler. But we know not whether they were also at the same time *Illuminists* and Engravers in wood."

and honourable mention had been made of their ingenuity and inventive skill in conferring so great a benefit upon mankind. Their pretensions had never been disputed during this period, when living witnesses could have established or destroyed their claims: but about the middle of the sixteenth century, the city of Harlem advanced her pretensions, and, upon traditionary evidence, without a single written or printed document to support it, aimed at wresting the wreath from the brow of Gutenberg, to place it on that of one of her own citizens; and, in order the more effectually to do this, she deemed it expedient to accuse the Germans of theft in having stolen the art from thence. Let us examine with care, and with an unprejudiced mind, the testimonies in her behalf, that we may decide impartially; and the most simple means will be to take them in chronological succession.

Adrian Junius was a physician, established at Harlem, where he wrote his Batavia, a brief History and Topographical Description of Holland, which he appears to have completed in the beginning of the year 1575; but his death in the month of June of that year, apparently prevented the publication, and it did not issue from the press until 1588, when it was printed at Leyden by Raphelengius. In this work, describing the city of Harlem, he takes occasion to relate the following tradition, which will be found in the note below, in his own words:[1] "There lived, one hundred and

[1] "Dicam igitur, quod accepi à senibus, & auctoritate gravibus, & Reipub. administratione claris, quique à majoribus suis ita accepisse gravissimo testimonio confirmârunt, quorum auctoritas jure pondus habere debeat ad faciendam fidem. Habitavit ante annos centum duodetriginta Harlemi in ædibus satis splendidis (ut documento esse potest fabrica, quæ in hunc usque diem perstat integra) foro imminentibus è regione Palatii Regalis, LAURENTIUS Joannes, cognomento Ædituus Custòsve, (quod tunc opimum & honorificum munus familia, eo nomine clara, hæreditario jure possidebat) is ipse, qui nunc laudem inventæ artis Typographicæ recidivam justis vindiciis ac sacramentis repetit, ab aliis nefariè possessam & occupatam, summo jure omnium triumphorum laureâ majore donandus. Is fortè in suburbano nemore spatiatus (ut solent sumpto cibo aut festis diebus cives, qui otio abundant) cœpit faginos cortices principio in literarum typos conformare, quibus inversâ ratione sigillatim chartæ impressis versiculum unum atque alterum animi gratiâ ducebat, nepotibus, generi sui liberis, exemplum futurum. Quod ubi feliciter succes-

twenty-eight years ago, at Harlem, in a handsome house (that may be still seen, as it exists in its pristine condition) opposite the market place, in the vicinity of the royal palace, Laurence John, surnamed

serat, cœpit animo altiora (ut erat ingenio magno & subacto) agitare, primumque omnium atramenti scriptorii genus glutinosius tenaciusque, quod vulgare lituras trahere experiretur, cum genero suo Thoma Petro, qui quaternos liberos reliquit, omnes fermè consulari dignitate functos (quod eò dico, ut artem in familiâ honestâ & ingenuâ, haud servili, natam intelligant omnes) excogitavit, inde etiam pinaces totas figuratas additis characteribus expressit. Quo in genere vidi ab ipso excusa adversaria, operarum rudimentum, paginis solùm adversis, haud opistographis: is liber erat vernaculo sermone ab auctore conscriptus anonymo, titulum præferens, Speculum nostræ salutis. In quibus id observatum fuerat inter prima artis incunabula (ut nunquam ulla simul & reperta & absoluta est) uti paginæ aversæ, glutine commissæ, cohærescerent, ne illæ ipsæ vacuæ deformitatem adferrent. Postea faginas formas plumbeis mutavit, has deinceps stanneas fecit, quò solidior minusque flexilis esset materia, durabiliorque: è quorum typorum reliquiis, quæ superfuerant, conflata œnophora vetustiora adhuc hodie visuntur in Laurentianis illis, quas dixi, ædibus, in forum prospectantibus, habitatis postea à suo pronepote Gerardo Thoma, quem honoris causâ nomino, cive claro, ante paucos hos annos vitâ defuncto sene. Faventibus, ut fit, invento novo studiis hominum, quum nova merx, nunquam antea visa, emptores undique exciret cum huberrimo quæstu, crevit simul artis amor, crevit ministerium, additi familiæ operarum ministri, prima mali labes, quos inter Joannes quidam, sive is (ut fert suspicio) Faustus fuerit ominoso cognomine, hero suo infidus & infaustus, sive alius eo nomine, non magnopere laboro, quòd silentum umbras inquietare nolim, contagione conscientiæ quondam, dum viverent, tactas. Is ad operas excusorias sacramento dictus, postquam artem jungendorum characterum, fusilium typorum peritiam, quæque alia eam ad rem spectant, percalluisse sibi visus est, captato opportuno tempore, quo non potuit magis idoneum inveniri, ipsâ nocte, quæ Christi natalitiis solennis est, quà cuncti promiscuè lustralibus sacris operari solent, choragium omne typorum involat, instrumentorum herilium, ei artificio comparatorum, supellectilem convasat, deinde cum fure domo se proripit, Amstelodamum principiò adit, inde Coloniam Agrippinam, donec Magontiacum perventum est, ceu ad asyli aram, ubi quasi extra telorum jactum (quod dicitur) positus tutò degeret, suorumque furtorum apertâ officinâ fructum huberem meteret. Nimirum ex eâ intra vertentis anni spacium, ad annum à nato Christo 1442. iis ipsis typis, quibus Harlemi Laurentius fuerat usus, prodisse in lucem certum est Alexandri Galli doctrinale, quæ Grammatica celeberrimo tunc in usu erat, cum Petri Hispani tractatibus, prima fœtura. Ista sunt fermè, quæ à senibus annosis, fide dignis, & qui tradita de manu in manum quasi ardentem tædam in decursu acceperant, olim intellexi, & alios, eadem referentes attestantesque comperi. Memini narrasse mihi Nicolaum Galium, pueritiæ meæ formatorem, hominem, ferreâ memoriâ & longâ canitie venerabilem, quòd puer non semel audierit Cornelium quendam bibliopegum, ac senio gravem, nec octogenario minorem (qui in eâdem officinâ subministrum egerat) tantâ animi contentione ac fervore commemorantem rei gestæ seriem, inventi

Coster (from an honourable and lucrative post hereditary in his family). This citizen of Harlem, walking one afternoon in a wood near the city, began to carve some letters reversed upon a piece of bark of the beech-tree, which for amusement he impressed upon paper, and thus printed a line or two for the instruction of his grandchildren. Having happily succeeded in this, and being a man of great ingenuity, he meditated the achievement of higher objects; and in conjunction with his son-in-law, Thomas Peter (who left four sons, all of whom attained the consular dignity), he invented a more glutinous kind of writing-ink, because he found that which was in common use unfit for his purpose, as it sunk and blurred; and then he imagined a means of forming whole pages of wood with letters cut upon them, of which kind I have seen some essays executed by him, in a work printed only on one side, being a book by an anonymous writer, entitled *Speculum nostræ Salutis*, in which it is remarkable that in the infancy of printing (for nothing at its first invention is complete,) the backs of the pages were pasted together, that they might not, by being vacant, deform its appearance. Afterward he changed his beechen pages for leaden ones, and in the sequel these leaden ones for pewter, as being a less flexible and much harder substance. Of the remains of these types, when they were melted down, those old wine-pots were made which are now to be seen in the house formerly inhabited by Laurence, looking into the market-place, in which afterwards lived his great-grandson, Gerard Thomas, a gentleman of reputation, whom I have pleasure in

(ut ab hero acceperat) rationem, rudis artis polituram & incrementum, aliaque id genus, ut invito quoque præ rei indignitate lachrymæ erumperent, quoties de plagio inciderat mentio: tum verò ob ereptam furto gloriam sic ira exardescere solere senem, ut etiam lictoris exemplum eum fuisse editurum in plagiarium appareret, si vita illi superfuisset: tum devovere consuevisse diris ultricibus sacrilegum caput, noctesque illas damnare atque execrari, quas unâ cum scelere illo communi in cubili per aliquot menses exegisset. Quæ non dissonant à verbis Quirini Talesii Consulis, eadem ferè ex ore librarii ejusdem se olim accepisse mihi confessi." *Hadriani Junii Batavia. Lugduni Batavorum ex Officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium*, 1588. 4*to. p.* 255.

naming to the honour of the family, and who died but a very few years since. A new invention rarely fails to excite curiosity; and when this new commodity, the like of which had never been seen before, excited purchasers, to the advantage of the inventor, the admiration of the art increased, the number of dependents and workmen was multiplied, the beginning of all the evil: among them was one John, whether (as I suspect) he had the ominous name of Faustus, unfaithful and unfortunate *(Infaustus)* to his master, or whether it was really a person of that name, I shall not take much pains to inquire, as I am unwilling to disturb the quiet of the silent shades, and awake their suffering, from consciousness of their past actions in this life. This man, bound by oath to keep the secret of Printing, when he thought he had learned the art of joining the letters, the method of casting the types, and other things of that nature, taking the most convenient time it was possible he could find, on Christmas eve, when every one was employed in the customary lustral sacrifices, seizes the collection of types and all the implements his master had got together, and with one accomplice marches off to Amsterdam, from thence to Cologne, and at length settled at Mentz, as at an asylum of security, where he might proceed to work with the tools and materials (quod dicitur) which he had stolen. It is certain, that in the space of a year, viz. in the year of our Lord 1442, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus, a grammar much used at that time, with the Tract of Peter of Spain, came forth there from the same types which Laurence had used at Harlem."

This is the most important part of the relation of Junius, the particulars of which he says he had from two reputable men, of very advanced age; the one, Nicholas Galius, who had been his schoolmaster; the other, Quirinius Talesius, his intimate friend and correspondent. Nicholas Galius when a boy, had received the information from Cornelius, a bookbinder, upwards of eighty, who is said to have been in the service of Coster at the time the alleged robbery was committed, and who always shed tears when he mentioned the circumstance, reflecting on the loss his good master had sustained,

not only in his substance, but in his honour, by the roguery of this servant, his former associate and bedfellow. Quirinus Talesius informed him he had received his information from the same source.

This account is supported by the testimony of Theodore Volckard Coornhert, who, in the Dedication of his Dutch version of Cicero's Offices, printed at Harlem in 1561, inscribed to the Chief Magistrate and Senators of the city, felicitates them upon the honour it derives from the invention of the Typographic Art, which circumstance he also expressly says he learned from the oral relation of grave elderly persons, who not only mentioned the family of the inventor, but his name and surname, described his first rude impressions, and pointed out the house where he had lived. He says he was induced, not by envy of the honour of others, but by the love of truth, in what he has said, in vindication of the glory of the city of Harlem, and its claim to the invention.

Ludovico Guicciardini, in his description of the Low Countries, first printed in Italian by Plantin at Antwerp, in 1565, refers also to this subject in his account of Harlem; his words are as follows:[1]

[1] "In questa Terra non solo per voce publica de gli habitatori, & di altri Hollandesi, ma ancora per alcuni scrittori, & per altre memorie, si truova che fu primamente inventata l'arte dello imprimere, & stampare lettere & caratteri in foglie al modo d' hoggi, impero venendo l'autore a morte inanzi, che l'arte fusse in perfettione & consideratione, il servidore suo (secondo dicono) andò a dimonare a Maganza, ove dando lume di quella scienza, fu raccolto allegramente, & quivi dato opera con ogni diligentia, a tanto negotio, ne vennero all' intero notitia, & total perfettione, onde è poi volata & inveterata la fama, che di quella citta sia uscita l'arte & la scienza della stampa: quel che ne sia alla verità non posso ne voglio giudicare, bastandomi d'haverne tocco un motto, per non progiudicare a questa Terra & Regione. Ma veggiamo quel che ne dice Polydoro Vergilio nel suo trattato DE INVENTORIBUS RERUM: *Joannes Cuthemburgus natione Teutonicus, equestri vir dignitate, ut ab ejus civibus accepimus primus omnium in oppido Germaniæ quam Moguntiam vocant, hanc imprimendarum litterarum artem excogitavit, primumque ibi exercere cæpit; non minore industria reperto ab eodem, prout ferunt, auctore, novo atramenti generis, quo nunc litterarum impressores utuntur. Decimo-sexto deinde anno, qui fuit salutis humane MCCCCLVIII. quidam nomine Conradus, homo itidem Germanus, Romam primo in Italiam attulit, quam dein Nicolaus Jenson Gallicus, primus mirum in modum illustravit: quæ passim hac tempestate per totum ferè terrarum orbem floret.*" . . . . . Aggiugnero ben' io hor' questo d' avantagio, che li Portoghesi dicono &

" In this city not only by the public assertion of its inhabitants, and of other Hollanders, but also by the testimony of some writers, and other memorials, we find that the art of printing and stamping letters and characters on paper, as now practised, was invented. And that the inventor dying before the art was brought to perfection, and consequent estimation, his servant (as it is said) went to dwell at Mentz, where, showing the light of this art, he was received with joy, and setting himself diligently to work there with much success, the art became generally known and entirely perfected; from whence has arisen, and become universal, the report, that from that city (Mentz) is derived the art and science of printing: let what may be the truth, I cannot, nor will I, decide; it is enough that I have said thus much to avoid prejudicing this city and country."

He then proceeds to cite the passage from Polydore Vergil, which gives the invention to Mentz and Gutenburg, and says he ought not to have omitted the name of Aldus; forgetting, that when Polydore wrote his book *de Inventoribus Rerum*, Aldus had only commenced printing. After an eulogy of that illustrious printer, he briefly states the advantages of the art, and then says, " I will here add this much more, the Portuguese say, and some write, that the art of printing was invented in that great, rich, and highly civilized province of China, in the East Indies; and, according to the affirmation of the inhabitants, it has been in use there a thousand years."

Although the character of Guicciardini has been impeached, as always leaning towards the honour and glory of his adopted country,[1] and in other matters attributing to her inventions which be-

qualcuno scrive, come l'arte della Stampa, si truova in quella grande, ricca e ben' politiata Provincia della Cina, all' Indie Orientali, & secondo che li habitatori affermano, sono gia migliaia d'anni che l'usano: &c.

Lodovico Gucciardini Descrittione di tutti i Pæsi Bassi *Anversa appresso Christ. Plantino.* MDLXXXVIII. *folio.* p. 260.

[1] Dr. Burney has accused Guicciardini of unjustly attributing the invention of that style of Composition in Music, called figurative harmony, to the Fle-

longed to his native land: yet in the present instance he cannot be said to state the circumstances of the case unfairly, and it even appears that he did not give full credit to the claims of the inhabitants of Harlem.

His hesitation, marked by the phrase, "as it is said," and the circumstance of his declining to decide upon the probability of the relation, manifests his disbelief; and after saying he relates the story of the invention of printing not to injure the city of Harlem, he immediately proceeds, "but hear what Polydore Vergil says on this subject," adducing his testimony in favour of Mentz; and in the sequel he indicates his belief of the Oriental derivation of the art. This, therefore, must be considered but a very unsatisfactory testimony to the validity of the claim set up by the city of Harlem, yet it has been considered one of the strong holds of the cause, as affording the most impartial and unprejudiced corroboration of Junius's relation.

In the year 1628 Scriverius put forth his book in Dutch, which he calls Laurels for Laurence Coster:[1] he has inscribed it in a metrical Dedication to the chief Magistrates of Harlem, and, what is remarkable, it is printed by their printer in ordinary.

mings. His words are remarkable: "L. Guicciardini, a renegade Italian, settled at Antwerp in the service of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, seems in his History of the Low Countries, determined to give the people among whom he lived, the honour of every useful as well as ornamental invention, in order to flatter his patron and benefactors, even at the expense of his native country, from which he had no further hopes." HIST. OF MUSIC. II. 449.

[1] PETRI SCRIVERII LAURE-CRANS *voor Laurens Coster van Hærlem eerste vinder dande Boëck-druckery. Tot Hærlem, By Adriaen Rooman, Ordinaris Stads Boeck-drucker*, 1628. 4*to*. It is sometimes found appended to *Samuel Ampzing's Beschryvinge ende lof der Stad Hærlem in Holland*. Printed at the same place in the same year. Scriverius's dissertation is inserted in the *Monumenta Typographica* of Wolfius, having been translated into Latin for that purpose by *George Quapner*. It will not be necessary to recommend this valuable collection of Wolfius to those who are at all conversant with the History of Printing; but, in favour of the Tyro who may be desirous of investigating the subject, it may be as well to mention that it contains a complete body of authentic materials, as well as the whole of what had been written on the subject up to the pe-

After adducing the evidence of Junius, Coornhert, and Guicciardini, he submits to the reader a fragment of a manuscript dialogue on the invention of Printing by John Van Zuren, which he says was written previous to the year 1561; and in which, with the same shew of disinterested candour we have seen possessed by the other two champions of the cause, Van Zuren asserts that the art of Printing was invented at Harlem, that the house in which the art was first exercised existed in his time, and that in its very infancy it was from thence carried to Mentz; but as Scriverius only recovered a fragment of this dialogue, we are left in the dark with regard to the proofs of Van Zuren's assertions.

The further evidence adduced by Scriverius is the passage in the Cologne Chronicle, in which the author asserts, upon the authority of Ulric Zell, "that although this art was first invented at Mentz in the mode which is now commonly practised, yet the first idea is found in Holland, in the Donatuses which were before printed there. And from thence is taken the beginning of this art; and it is a more masterly and subtler discovery than this same ancient manner was, and it became at length still more complete."[1] This

riod of its publication at Hamburgh in 1740, in two thick volumes in 12mo.

[1] I subjoin the passage in the original quoted by Scriverius, as the translation above differs in a few particulars from that given by Mr. Dibdin in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana.

"*Item wie wail die kunst is vonden tzo Mentz, als vurss up die wijse, als dan nu gemeynlich gebruicht wirt, so is doch die eyrste vurbyldung vonden in Hollant vyss die Donaten, die daeselffst vur der tzijt gedruckt syn. Ind van id vyss den is genommen dat begynne der vurss Kunst. ind is vill meysterlicher ind subtilicher vonden dan deselve manier was, vnd ye lenger ye mere kunstlicher wurden.* Cronica Vander Hilliger Stat Van Coellen, 1499, *fol.* I must confess the above passage conveys to me no other meaning than that of Printing having taken its rise in Germany, and of the idea alone being derived from those xylographic specimens, or block books, which had been previously executed in Holland. In the sequel it will be seen that the author of this Chronicle, who derived his information from Ulric Zell, calls Gutenburg the first inventor of Printing. What else can be understood by the distinction he makes between the two processes, calling the German method "more masterly and subtiler" than the Dutch or ancient manner? Scriverius, who was the first to adduce this passage as giving testimony in favour of Harlem, only contended for the invention of moveable types of

passage, he argues, testifies that the inventor at Mentz was excited to the practice of the art by the example which the *Donatuses*[1] printed in Holland offered to him: but he does not attempt to take the merit of the perfection of moveable metal types from the Germans; he is contented to insist upon the first invention and practice of the art by Coster at Harlem. In adopting the relation of Junius, however, he finds some parts of it which require modifying to obtain implicit belief, and he therefore changes the bark of the beech-tree to a branch of oak which had been blown down by the wind, from which Coster having cut a piece, and carved upon it some letters for his amusement, he envelops it with paper and falls asleep: this piece of wood being moist from having lain in the rain or some other cause, communicates an impression to the paper the colour of its sap, and leaves the forms of the letters carved upon it marked upon the paper; observing this when he awakes, it excites in him the idea of the art of Printing, which he carries into effect first with blocks of wood on which letters reversed were carved, and at length by means of moveable letters separately engraved. Junius had asserted that Coster proceeded to print from types of beech-bark; Scriverius insists upon his printing his first essays with engraved blocks of wood, and accused Junius of not having examined with sufficient attention the *Speculum humanæ Salvationis*, which he supposed to have been printed with moveable wooden types, while Scriverius contends that they are obviously of metal.

It is this *Speculum humanæ Salvationis* upon which the claims of Harlem might have been more safely grounded than upon a tradition which, to say the least of it, has a very strong air of fable, and which it should appear was current in the world, and was related of

wood there. But surely this does not warrant even that assumption.

[1] It may be as well to mention here that the Donatus was a brief elementary grammar for the instruction of youth, so called probably from Ælius Donatus the grammarian. It was formerly well understood to signify an elementary book of instruction both by the French and English. See a curious note in Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, Vol. 1. p. 281.

Gutemberg at Mentz at least twenty years before Junius applied it to Coster. Anton-Francesco Doni, a facetious Italian writer, in his "*Mondi*," a collection of extravagant dialogues printed at Venice in 1552, will be found to have given currency to a similar rhodomontade of the invention of the art, by him applied to John of Mentz, instead of Laurence of Harlem. It will be seen in the passage from Doni, given below,[1] that he says he found it written in a German

[1] "*Dubbioso.* From whence do you say John of Mentz drew this secret?

"*Sbandito.* — — — —

"*Dubbioso.* How did he find out the invention of Printing; for of other things it signifies not to tell me.

"*Sbandito.* I find a book written in German which relates that this man, being in a kind of frenzy, amused himself at a certain time of the year in cutting a stem or root of fern, a plant known to all the world, which being in sap, oozed out a kind of viscous matter: from this appearance, and seeing that it made a kind of mark, he applied it to paper and made an impression with it; and as it came not well at first, he cut the second time more cleanly, and less sap came from it; thus on a little paper he made several impressions. This sap was the cause of the invention of ink and the types to print with; casting them afterwards with moulds, and other methods, were easy matters, as it was after him to find twenty-five and fifty different letters for the improvement of the art, and to engrave them in pear-tree, box, or service wood."

The obscure and affected style of Doni renders it difficult to translate this passage, nor am I certain that I have given the exact sense of it everywhere; and as his book is by no means of common occurrence, I have deemed it right to subjoin the original text, that the reader may not be led into error by any mistaking of the sense on my part.

"Dubbioso. *Dove volete voi dire che Giovanni di Magontia cavasse questo secreto.*

"Sbandito. — — — —

"Dubbioso. *Come trovò egli (cioè Giovanni di Magonza o Guttenberg) l'invention della stampare, che dell' altre cose non accade dirmi nulla.*

"Sbandito. *Io mi trovo un libro scritto in Todesco, il quale dice che essendo questo huomo in questa frenesia, s'abbattè in un certo tempo de l'anno a tagliare un gambo d'una felce, herba nota a tutto il mondo, la quale essendo in succhio; gettava una cosa viscosa, per quei segni, et per vedere alcuni segni che ella fa, l'accostò al foglio et rimase improntato, et non venendo bene alla prima tagliò la seconda molto piu nettamente, et manco licore ne venne fuori; così sopra un poco di carta n'impresse molte. Questa pania fu cagione di trovare l'inchiostro, et i polzoni della zecca, di far gl'improntì, il gettarle poi conforme, et altre misure gli fu facil cosa, si come è stato dopo lui di trovarne venticinque et cinquanta, per accrescimento dell'arte, diverse lettere; il tagliare in pero, in busso, et in sorbo.*

"Dubbioso. *Et l'arte d'intagliar in rame è stata mirabile, et viverà con gli anni dell'eternita. Ma cotesto Todesco ebbe il cervello molto sottile.*

"Sbandito. *Chi cerca trova; se quel gambo avesse gettato per tutto, non era*

book; but it is strongly to be suspected that it had its origin in his own inventive fancy. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that the account given by Junius, as it is posterior by a period of at least twenty years, was in some way or other founded upon it. It has been frequently found a brief way of accounting for inventions whose origins were unknown, to attribute them to accidental occurrences, and many have been the plausible stories invented to account for the rise of arts. It is certain that many great discoveries have been made by accident; but the love of mankind for the marvellous has assuredly added to the number of facts a number of idle stories of a similar cast.

This relation of Junius was strongly contested by several writers at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and among others by the celebrated Naudé,[1] who has displayed the incongruities and improbabilities of it in an able manner, although the then imperfect state of typographical knowledge has been the cause of his committing a few mistakes.

It was nevertheless implicitly believed and related by Bertius,[2] Boxhornius,[3] Joseph Scaliger,[4] and others; but as they have not brought forward any new evidence in support of it, there will be no necessity for further mention of them.

The testimony of Atkyns,[5] and the record which he pretended to

nulla, ma egli s'abbattè che quei segni gemevano, et il restante era asciutto." I Mondi del Doni, *Libro primo, pag.* 28. *Vinegia, per Francesco Marcolini,* 1552, 4*to.*

[1] *Additions à l'Histoire du Roy Louis XI.* reprinted in the third volume of Dufresnoy's edition of the *Memoires de Commines, Bruxelles,* 1723. 8*vo.*

[2] *In Commentariis Rerum Germanicarum.*

[3] *De Typographicæ Artis Inventione et Inventoribus Dissertatio. Lugd. Bat.* 1640.

[4] *In Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum. Lugd. Bat.* 1617, 12*mo.* And yet, if we may judge from the following passage, Scaliger was not an advocate for Harlem beyond what relates to xylographic printing. "*Atqui aliter rudimenta artis inchoata sunt. Nam non ex discretis et singularibus typis inter se junctis, ut hodie fit, cœptum est imprimi, sed in pagellis ligneis, quibus literæ incisæ erant. Qui modus excudendi in nostri Hollandia Harlemi inventus fuit, ubi etiam hodie ædes ostenduntur, in quibus inventor artis eam primam periclitatus est.*"

[5] *The Origin and Growth of Printing. London,* 1664, 4*to.* This person is suspected to have invented the story which he pretended to have found in a record

have discovered, have been insisted on by later champions of the cause of Harlem; but as there is good reason to believe that it was an invention for sinister purposes, it does not seem necessary to adduce it here.

In 1740 Seiz[1] published at Harlem his brief account of the invention of printing, which was written on occasion of the supposed third jubilee of its invention, in which he has collected and digested all the evidence in favour of Coster. The only additional testimonies he has brought forward are all of them posterior to the account of Junius, and founded upon it; indeed his book is little more than an enlarged edition of Scriverius.

But in 1765 appeared the most powerful advocate for the cause of Harlem, the celebrated and very erudite Meerman, who, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, with much ingenuity, has attempted to establish the verity of the relation which gives the invention to that city and to Coster; and as this is the most important work which espouses their cause, we shall bestow some pains upon an examination of his arguments, which are principally founded on the accounts of Junius, Van Zuyren, Coornhert, and Guicciardini, toge-

among the papers belonging to the see of Canterbury, and which makes the king, Henry VI, employ an emissary to decoy a printer from Harlem, who succeeds in bringing off Frederic Corsellis, the first printer in England, according to Atkins. But his story is so full of incongruities, and has already been so completely refuted, that it were vain to enter more at large into it. He makes Gutenburg the inventor of printing, and places him at Harlem; and mentioning the claim of Mentz, he says, "it is known that city gained the art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt it at home of his brother, and after set up for himself at Mentz." In short, it is a weak invention grounded on a very imperfect view of the story of Coster, with much confusion of dates, names, and places; and yet although he makes no mention of Coster, Meerman has eagerly caught at his fabulous narration, and endeavoured to make it subservient to the purpose of strengthening his cause.

[1] *Het Derde Jubelyaar der uitgevondene der Boekdruk-Konst. Haerlem Gedrukt by Isaak en Johannes Enschede Ordinaris Stads-drukkers*, 1740. This book has also a pompous dedication by the printers to burgomasters of the city. It was in the succeeding year again put forth in Latin, "*in gratiam exterorum*," as it is expressed in the title, and dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury: it is embellished with prints of the statue erected to Coster, of the medals struck in his honour, and with a view of his house.

ther with the evidence which the *Speculum* affords, and some other early books printed in Holland or the Low Countries, which he has gratuitously given to Coster and to Harlem.

The opinion of Meerman claims respect, as it appears that his decision was the consequence of very minute and patient inquiry; for in a letter, written in 1757, to his friend Wagenaar,[1] who had requested his opinion upon the origin of the invention of printing, he points out the improbability of the story of Coster. His arguments are founded on the silence of all writers, and particularly of the Dutch, previous to the time of Junius; and he urges the numerous undoubted testimonies in favour of Mentz, as a proof that the art had its origin there, and not at Harlem: he expresses his intention of waiting the publication of the documents discovered by Schoepflin, and the expected acquisition of several of the books printed at Mentz, previous to publishing his essay. It is apparent from these circumstances, that his first intention was to have advocated the cause, which his patriotism subsequently furnished him with reasons for abandoning and combating. Meerman's learning and integrity were undoubted; and though we may be inclined to allow that this change of opinion was made from conviction, it should be observed, that he does not display much keenness as a typographical antiquary: his arguments are wavering and weak; some of them indeed evince that his mind was not entirely made up upon the subject, and he was too readily persuaded of the truth of an hypothesis, which he felt interested in supporting from patriotic feeling.

He took infinite pains however to establish the verity of the story told by Junius: he traced out the history of Laurence Janszoon, whom he attempts to prove was *Custos* of the church of St. Bavon at Harlem in the years 1423, 1426, 1432 and 1433; but he shows that Junius was in error in asserting that the office was

[1] This letter is given at length by Santander, in the first volume of "*Dictionnaire Bibliographique du XVme Siecle*," p. 14.

hereditary in his family, and that it was probable he was called[1] Coster from the situation he held. He does not insist upon the invention of metal types by him, but asserts his claim to the invention of moveable characters of wood,[2] with which he says the *Speculum* was printed. He says that Coster died in 1440, aged 70; and that he was succeeded in the printing business, either by his son in law, Thomas Peter, or by his grandchildren, Peter, Andrew, and Thomas, by whom he supposes several editions of the Speculum were executed; and he attributes to them the editions of *Vegetius*, *Thomas à Kempis*, and the *Historia Alexandri Magni*, which are printed with the types used by *Ketelær* and *de Leempt*, established at Utrecht in 1473. He also imagines that the edition of *Thomas à Kempis* was the last work printed by the heirs of *Janszoon* or *Coster*, and that it was executed in 1472; that they soon after disposed of their materials and quitted the employment; as the use of fusile types was about that time universally diffused through Holland, by the settling of Theodore Martens at Alost.[3] Peter and Andrew, the two eldest grandsons of Coster, perished, he says, in the civil war in 1492.

[1] " Ex premissis colligere est quàm graviter lapsi fuerint Junius, eumque secuti Scriverius ceterique ad unum omnes, qui Laurentii originem è familia Costerorum repetunt nomen hoc adepta ex munere æditui belgice *Coster* quod hereditario jure possedit." *Orig. Typ. T.* 1. *p.* 48.

[2] Contrary to the express testimony of Junius, who attributes to Coster the invention and use of metal types, Meerman asserts that all the impressions of Coster were effected by means of moveable characters of wood. " Prototypographorum nostrum, ante epocham Moguntinam vivis ereptum, sejunctis litteris non ex metallo, verum ligno usum fuisse consequens erit." *Orig. Typ. T.* 1. *p.* 81.

[3] The first book printed in the Low Countries, which is furnished with the place and date, is the *Speculum conversionis peccatorum*," by *Dionisius de Leuwis* or *Rikel*. Printed in a very neat gothic character, in small 4to.: it is in Earl Spencer's collection. The colophon is as follows:

Impressum. Alosti in Flandriæ.
Anno. M° CCCC°. LXXIII.

This is presumed to have been printed by Theodoric or Thierri Martens; he was also the first who printed at Antwerp, in 1476, and exercised the art at Louvain from the close of the fifteenth century until 1528. The first two books he printed at Alost are in the same kind of type used by John of Westphalia at Louvain, in society with whom he is said to have printed the *Liber Predicabilium* at Alost, in 1474. I have before me *S. Chrisostomi*

He does not very clearly establish the identity of this Laurence Janszoon with the Laurence mentioned by Junius: he is obliged to make some gratuitous suppositions for the purpose; and though he has been at considerable pains in making out the genealogy of the family, it is far from certain that his suppositions are founded in fact.

Meerman acknowledges that characters engraved on beech bark would not answer the purpose of making impressions; that it is necessary to suppose Junius in error in this particular, and that we should substitute here, a piece of beech, instead of the bark. He supposes that the fragment of an *Horarium*, discovered by Enschede the printer at Harlem, and which contained in eight pages in 16mo the alphabet, the Lord's prayer, &c. was the original attempt of Coster. The types of this Horarium, it should be remarked, if the fac simile given by Meerman be correct, do not resemble those of the Speculum; add to this, that it is *Opisthographic*, or printed on both sides of the vellum, apparently with moveable types, and the improbability of this supposition will be sufficiently obvious.

It has been seen, in the relation of Junius, that John Fust, the associate and father in law of Schoeffer, was accused by him of being the author of the pretended robbery, and to have carried off the types and implements of Coster; but Meerman and the other partizans of Harlem, found some difficulty in giving credit to an accusation of this kind; it seemed palpably improbable that a

de Providentia Dei, printed by him at Alost in 1487, with a more regular and smaller gothic character; his Greek type is similar to that used by Gourmont at Paris. I have an edition of the Idylls of Theocritus, printed by him at Louvain in 1528, which was bound up at the end of the Aristophanes of Gourmont. Meerman might have adduced Ketelær and De Leempt, who printed at Utrecht in Holland, in 1473, but he was most probably ignorant of their existence until his work was nearly finished; or perhaps he did not believe that they had printed there so early: it will be seen that he has given all the productions of these early Utrecht printers with which he was acquainted, to the heirs of Laurence Janszoon. It is worthy of remark, that Theodoric Martens is called in his epitaph *De erste Leterdruckere van Duitschland Vrankerijke en desen Nederlanden*; that is, " the first printer of Germany, France, and the Netherlands." An epitaph upon him, by Erasmus, is given by *Marchand*, in his *Dictionnaire Historique. T.* 11. *p.* 29.

man of the condition and property of Fust should have been a servant to Coster. Scriverius therefore throws his suspicions with no small degree of effrontery upon John Gænsfleish, or Gutenburg; but Meerman saw the impossibility of making this accusation agree with authentic documents produced by Schoepflin, from which it appears that Gutenburg was established at Strasbourg from about 1430, and that it was still his place of residence in 1444; he therefore has recourse to a presumption, that the robber, John, mentioned by Junius, was John Gænsfleisch, senior,[1] brother of John Gutenburg, who, although noble by birth, was constrained by the mediocrity of his means to quit his native city of Mentz, and to seek, like his brother, the means of subsistence by industry.[2] He adds, that this John Gænsfleisch, senior, having heard of the typographic art established at Harlem, proceeded thither, and entered into the service of Laurence Janszoon, with the intention of learning the art, then an entire secret, by which he might, on his return to his native place, derive considerable advantage. It was under these circumstances, and about the year 1435, that his brother, John Gutenburg, having been to the fair at Aix la Chapelle, on business, determined to go and see his brother at Harlem; where he himself obtained such an insight into the printing business, as to enable him to practise it on his return to Strasburg:[3] and that his brother John

[1] The common occurrence of the name John among the early printers gave Scriverius and Meerman excellent opportunity to choose among them the John to whose charge the robbery of Coster was laid. Thus we have John Gænsfleisch or Gutenburg, John Fust, John Meidenbach, John Petersheim. Meerman having been misled by *Kœhler*, in his apology for Gutenburg, has made *two* persons out of one, for it is certain that there never was but one John Gænsfleisch of Sulgeloch, otherwise Gutenburg, who was at all engaged in the printing business, as may be seen by reference to *Fischer Monum. Typog. de Gutenburg*, *p.* 33; or *Oberlin Annales de la Vie de Gutemburg*, *p.* 10, 11.

[2] " Extra dubium mihi visum est, infidum hunc famulum fuisse ipsum Joannem Gaensfleisch seniorem, ortu Moguntinum... hic enim, nobilis licet genere, attamen pauper, fratris ad exemplum victum extra patriam quæsivisse videtur." *Orig. Typ. T.* 1. *p.* 90, 91. " Senior postquam de typographeio Harlemensi aliquid rescivisset, illi se ut ministrum tradidit, hoc animo, ut incognitam hucusque artem edoctus uberrimos exinde in patriâ fructus colligeret." *Ib. p.* 174-5.

[3] " Vero simile ergo est, Io. Gaensfleis-

Gænsfleisch, senior, about the year 1440 stole away from Harlem, &c. as related by Junius above. That after printing at Mentz, with the stolen characters of wood, the *Doctrinale* of *Alexander Gallus* and another tract of *Peter of Spain*, perceiving their defects, he supplied their place by types of metal; but as the preparation of these required much time and expense, he continued printing with wooden blocks in the interim, different works, such as *Donatuses*, *Alphabets*, *Catholicons*, *Confessionals*, &c. that at length, after many difficulties, and with the assistance of his associates, Gutenberg, Meidenbach, Fust, and others, he succeeded in printing with metal types the famous Latin Bible without date.

Hypothesis and conjecture are not proofs: Meerman, like the other advocates of Harlem, has had recourse to the Speculum and other rude unappropriated productions of the typographic art, which he has attributed to Coster; but he has gone further, he has seized upon some *Editiones Ancipites* to make out a series of books from the year 1430 to 1472. These books, which he has attributed to the heirs of Coster, are now known to have proceeded from the press of *Ketelær and De Leempt*, established at Utrecht, and having discovered this circumstance when nearly at the close of his labours, he was obliged to avoid the inference which it afforded, by a presumption that Ketelær and De Leempt might have become possessors of the types used at Harlem by the successors of Coster.[1] Upon the whole, it does not appear that the cause of Harlem was very mate-

chium juniorem, sive Gutenbergium, qui nundinas Aquisgranenses quæstûs gratiâ frequentare erat solitus, non longè dissitum ab hac urbe Belgium circa ann. 1435 adiisse, fratremque suum Laurentii ministrum cominus salutasse, à quo ex artis secretis nonnulla hausit, atque Argentorati in usus convertere studuit suos." *Ibid. p.* 198.

[1] "Typos quibus heredes Laurentius Jo. fil. excuderunt *Historiam Alexandri Magni*, et fortè tria alia opera dict. cap. § 7. recensita, posthac in manus pervenisse Nicolai Ketelær, et Gerardi De Leempt, primorum Ultrajecti impressorum; ut pote qui iisdem usi sunt ad secundam partem Historiæ Scholasticæ, editam in Trajecto inferiori 1473, fol. Eodemque charactere etiam alios libros absque anni, loci vel impressoris indicio vulgatos videre licuit, qui num officinæ Laurentianæ, an verò his typographis Ultrajectensibus debeantur, definiri vix potest." *Orig. T. 2. p.* 8.

rially benefited by his labours, for he seized with avidity upon every thing which had the least appearance of favouring her cause, without attending to the degree of authenticity by which it was supported. Thus the palpable forgery of Atkins was eagerly adduced in support of his hypothesis of the two brothers. He accuses Seiz of having imagined an absurd chronological list of books printed by Coster, and furnishes one himself still more objectionable: he adds to the robbery of Coster, mentioned by Junius, the robbery of his heirs, about the year 1459, by the pretended Corsellis, a being whose very existence is perhaps even more to be doubted than that of his hero.[1]

The discrepancies and improbabilities of Meerman's work have been pointed out in a lively manner, but perhaps with too much petulance, by Lambinet,[2] and examined and refuted by Santander:[3] it had previously been the subject of animadversion to Fournier,[4] Heinecken,[5] and the greater number of writers who have touched on the history of typography, since its publication; but it was reserved for an ingenious and tasteful critic in matters pertaining to the history and progress of Art, to establish some of his positions in a more complete and satisfactory way, by connecting them with cer-

[1] In Meerman's French Letter to Dr. Ducarel, printed in the Appendix to Messrs. Bowyer and Nichols's Orig. of Printing, he says, "Mon intention étoit de revoquer en doute les prétensions de' Harlem, qui ont été fort mal appuyées jusq'à present: mais j'ai fait tant de nouvelles découvertes qui m'ont fait changer de sentiment. En effet il me paroit fort clair, qu on a trouvé à Harlem l'art d'imprimer en types de bois, mobiles et qu'on les a changés à Mayence en types de metal premierement sculptés, ensuite fondus. J'ai decouvert le premier, par des documens authentiques qu'il y a eu deux *Johannes Gaensfleisch*, un le vieux qui à été le valet de Laurent Coster, et qui a decouvert quelque chose de l'art a *Johannes Gaensfleisch le jeune*, autrement dit Gutenberg." *Ibid. p.* 203-4.

[2] Origine de L'Imprimerie. Paris, 1810. 2 vol. 8vo.

[3] Dictionnaire Bibliographique du quinzieme siecle. Bruxelles, 1805. 3 vol. 8vo. See his *Essai Historique sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*, prefixed to the first volume.

[4] Traites Historiques et Critiques sur l'origine et le progres de l'Imprimerie. Paris, 1758-61. 8vo.

[5] Idée generale d'une collection d'Estampes, avec une dissertation sur l'origine de la gravure et sur les premiers Livres d'Images. Leipsic et Vienne, 1771. 8vo.

tain facts, which had escaped the researches of Meerman and the other strenuous advocates of Harlem. We have much satisfaction in the consciousness, that the public owe to our suggestions the extended inquiry into the history of the xylographic and typographic arts, which Mr. Ottley[1] has instituted; and although we have taken a different view of the subject, we are not the less sensible of the ingenuity of his arguments, and the skill which he has shewn in advocating the cause he has adopted. This gentleman is the first who has attempted to demonstrate that the style of art which pervades the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, and the *Historia ex Cantico Canticorum*, is that which prevailed in Holland and the Low Countries, thus tending to prove that they were executed there.

It would be presumption to enter the lists with a judge so competent to decide upon the country to which the style of art, which pervades these rude performances, belongs, if such puerile efforts can be said to have any distinguishing character of this kind; but it will be allowed, that the evidence founded upon this parity of style is equivocal; nor is the argument to be derived from the language of the text of the Belgic copies of the Speculum more decisive. An ingenious friend, well acquainted with the literature of the Germans, Flemings, and Dutch, informs us that the language of the Speculum has not any thing in it which renders it peculiarly the property of Holland more than of Flanders in the fifteenth century.

Of these three books an ample and interesting account will be

[1] *Enquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving in Copper and upon Wood.* 1815. 4*to.* Mr. Ottley's first purpose was only an enquiry into the early history of Chalcography, which was extended at the suggestion of the present writer, to include the art of engraving on wood, which of course involved something of the invention of typography. The enquiries of Mr. Ottley have necessarily abridged that portion of the present work which is devoted to the same subject; and it is only in consequence of the promise made in the prospectus long since circulated, that it now contains a view of the origin of these arts. We are much indebted to the liberality of Mr. Ottley for the indulgence of referring to his work as yet unpublished; and for the use of that portion of the printed sheets which contains the history of xylography and typography.

found in Mr. Ottley's work, and they are also described in Mr. Dibdin's Bibliotheca Spenceriana; the most important of them in regard to its supposed connexion with the invention of typography, is the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, and as we possess a copy of the celebrated edition which is printed partly with engraved wooden blocks, and partly with moveable types, we may be indulged in offering a few remarks upon the conclusions drawn by Mr. Ottley, from a minute examination of it.[1] It has been seen, that it was this work which the earliest advocate of Harlem, and promulgator of the history of Laurence Janszoon or Coster, had fixed upon as being one of his first productions: could any proof be adduced of this circumstance, and could the traditions respecting Coster be rendered as certain and indubitable, as those respecting Gutenburg, we should still hesitate to allow him the precedence in the invention, for the silence of all writers until after the period of the publication of Junius's account, would then afford a fair presumption that he was considered rather the imitator of an art already invented, than the inventor of it.

If it were possible to prove that the Speculum was printed about the year 1440, which is the supposed date affixed to it by the be-

[1] Mr. Ottley has bestowed infinite pains and attention in comparing the copies, and examining the types, of the Speculum, and has satisfactorily shown, that the edition which has been hitherto considered the *first*, which is in Latin, with the text printed partly with moveable type and partly with wooden blocks, should, in future, be considered the *third* in order: that the edition formerly accounted the *second* Latin copy must have been the first; and that of the *two* Dutch copies, that which was called the *first Dutch* is the last printed of the whole; and that the edition denominated the *second Dutch* takes its place immediately after the *first Latin* edition, and is in fact the *second* in order. This is the more extraordinary, as it would be natural to suppose that the edition which has the text printed partly with blocks and partly with types, the first essay of some one to whom the invention of moveable characters had occurred, or been communicated, during the period he was engaged in engraving it; and we do not see the advantage which is derived to the cause of Harlem from this discovery. Mr. Ottley has examined and compared the Watermarks of the two editions of the Speculum, fac similes of which are given in his work: he finds them for the most part similar to those in paper used in books printed in Holland and the Low Countries in the fifteenth century.

lievers in Junius's account; or if it could even be demonstrated that it was executed previously to the Psalter of 1457; to the Bible, which we have every reason to believe was printed about the year 1450-5; or to the Letters of Indulgence of Nicholas V. in 1455, it must be confessed the cause of Coster and of Harlem would derive much support from it; but all that has been attempted by Mr. Ottley, is to show that it is probable it was executed previous to the year 1472.[1] This may be allowed to him, and that it was executed in Holland, or the Netherlands, with moveable types, and yet the cause of Gutenburg and Mentz suffer no injury by the admission; for supposing that the Speculum was executed in Holland, or the Netherlands, with moveable metal types about 1470, and that it is the rude essay of a tyro in the art, does it follow that it was the production of Harlem, or of Coster? still less does it prove that it led the way to the invention and perfection of typography, for it would be indeed a strange anachronism, to suppose that a rude attempt at invention or imitation of 1470 could have given rise to an art already arrived at the highest point of perfection in 1450. It is generally admitted that the rudeness of any typographical or xylographical performance is no exact criterion of its early date.

It is somewhat extraordinary that the wood cuts of St. Christopher and the Annunciation, both of which were executed in 1423, are printed with black ink and the press; while many of the block books, which are doubtless posterior performances, are rubbed off by hand, in the manner the Cardmakers printed their cards; and that

[1] Mr. Ottley has permitted me to cite his own words. "But the supposition that this work is of so high an antiquity, is not necessary to our present purpose: it will suffice, if it be admitted (and this cannot well be denied) that the first edition of "The Book of Canticles" was printed only a few years before the third edition. For were we to place the first edition of the work no earlier than 1465, and admit that five years elapsed between that publication and the first publication of the Speculum, which is a longer interval than there is any reason to suppose really took place between them, the Speculum must then have been published in the year 1470; that is, two or three years before the first dated book, printed in any part of the Low Countries; which is all that we have, at present, undertaken to establish." *Enquiry into the Hist. of Engraving, p.* 235.

the ink is a kind of umber coloured distemper: how is this to be accounted for? unless we suppose the *impressions* of those curious xylographical monuments are much posterior to the date of the engraving. If the memorandum respecting the binding of the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Ars Memorandi*, and *Apocalypse*, cited by Mr. Dibdin, upon the authority of Mr. Horn,[1] could be depended upon as correct, it would be certain that these works were executed previous to 1430; but it must be confessed, that it is more than probable that Mr. Horn had mistaken the figure 7 for 2; the error would easily arise from the resemblance of those two figures in old Arabic numerals: yet even supposing Mr. Horn correct, there is no proof that the Speculum is a contemporary performance. Mr. Ottley argues from the similarity of style in the design, and the *knack* of the execution: surely these are not infallible guides; and more certain demonstration seems necessary in a decision of so much importance.

The scrupulous and accurate attention bestowed by Mr. Ottley

[1] "Mr. Horn—a gentleman long and well known for his familiar acquaintance with books printed abroad—was in possession of a copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, of the *Ars Memorandi*, and of the *Apocalypse*, all bound in one volume; which volume had upon the exterior of the cover, the following words stamped, at the extremity of the binding, towards the edge of the squares: "*Hic Liber Relegatus fuit per Plebanum—Ecclesie—Anno Domini* 142(8)" Mr. Horn having broken up the volume, and parted with its contents, was enabled to supply me with the foregoing information upon the strength of his memory alone; but he is *quite confident* of the three following particulars: 1. That the works contained in this volume, were, as have just been mentioned: 2. That the binding was the ancient legitimate one, and that the treatises had not been *subsequently* introduced into it: and 3. That the date was 142 odd—but positively anterior to the year 1430." *Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol.* 1. *p.* 5. *note.* Mr. Dibdin thinks the Ars Memorandi has the appearance of being much earlier executed than either of the other two books mentioned above; indeed he places it first in his list of block books. The existence of a species of signature in the *Biblia Pauperum* might be urged in proof of its being executed posterior to 1470. If the date at the beginning of Hartlieb's Chiromancy (for which see *Heinecken Idee d'une Collect. d'Estampes, p.* 479) could be considered that of its execution, and not that of its composition, we should however be in possession of an instance of the use of signatures in the year 1448, but it is almost certain that the latter is the case, and that it was executed after the invention of moveable types, and the general use of signatures.

upon the type of the Speculum, entitles his opinion to much respect; and it is not impossible that the conclusion he has drawn may be just: he conjectures that it was cast in plaster, or argillaceous moulds. There appears but one objection which can be urged against this supposition, and that is the infinite variety in the form and appearance of the same letter, diphthong, or ligature, throughout the work,[1] ten different forms of the same character or type may sometimes be observed in one page. The supposition "that a sufficient quantity of type for printing could only be obtained by moulds often renewed upon the characters before cast," is inadmissible, for it is impossible to deny that the first prototype or *punch* from which the first mould was formed, must have been carved or engraved by hand, and as in modern typography, this one character would suffice for the multiplication of moulds or *matrices ad infinitum*, without having recourse to the more imperfect expedient suggested.

The argument deduced from the imperfect process pursued in the formation of the type, and the rudeness of the execution of the *Speculum*, is, that it was an attempt at invention, and not an imitation of the more perfect art exercised by the artists at Mentz. Mr. Ottley has observed, "that the rude and unregistered appearance of the right margin in the text of the Dutch *Speculum* cannot be ascribed to the printer's want of care or accuracy, but it is only to be accounted for by the supposition, that the improved method of spacing out the lines, so as to make them of an equal length, had not yet been thought of when the book was printed, or at least that

[1] This is very remarkable in two instances, particularly in my copy, Mr. Ottley having referred to the numbers of the pages marked with ink, I shall make use of the same liberty. No. 19, right hand column under the subject of the Ark of the Tabernacle, lines 16, 20, 22, 25, the word Archa four times repeated, and no one letter in either of the repetitions similar. No. 20, left hand column, under the subject of the Brazen Candlestick, at the bottom, the word Ipsa six times repeated at the beginning of lines, and the same striking difference occurs in every letter, no two of them are exactly alike. Is it possible that the great variety in the form of these characters could arise in the manner supposed?

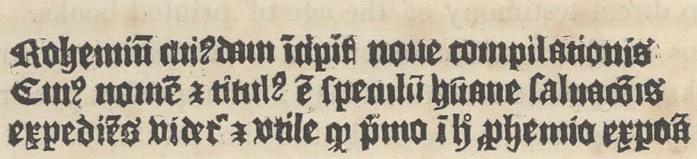
it was entirely unknown to the printer of that work;" but because it was unknown to the printer of the *Speculum*, does it follow that it was then unknown? the perfect press work, and great regularity of the earliest books of the Mentz printers, was not every where successfully imitated, and there are but few productions of contemporary artists which will bear comparison with them in this respect. Add to this, that we have numerous examples which would demonstrate that rudeness and imperfection of execution are no direct testimony of the age of printed books. The first productions of Fust and Schœffer are masterpieces of art; while many books long posterior are clumsy and imperfect performances; it is evident that the degree of skill in the printer would entirely govern this matter: thus the *Gesta Christi*, supposed to have been printed at Spire, by Peter Drach,[1] is an instance of barbarous typography, which was produced posterior to 1470, as it has signatures, which were certainly not in use previous to that year.

We have already observed that this very circumstance might be adduced as a proof that the *Biblia Pauperum* has no claim to be considered of so early a date, for what are the alphabetical marks over each central subject, but a species of signature, intended to guide the bookbinder in placing and arranging the leaves?

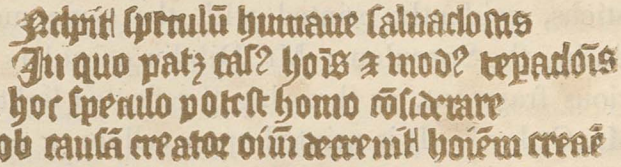
Lord Spencer has recently obtained a fragment of an edition of Cato's Distichs, evidently printed with the same moveable types used in printing the Speculum: Mr. Dibdin considers the discovery of this curious fragment, as throwing "reflected light on the hypothesis of Mr. Ottley." It is printed upon vellum or parchment, and the right margin is quite as irregular or unregistered as in the Dutch Speculum, but it is *Opisthographic*, or printed on both sides, and therefore seems to evince that the printer, though by no means a skilful one, was somewhat advanced in the practice of his art. A fac-simile of part of this fragment is given by Mr Dibdin in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana.[2]

[1] Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. 3. p. 338. [2] Vol. 4. p. 474.

As neither that gentleman nor Mr. Ottley have given any specimen of the type of the *Speculum* as it stands in the work itself,[1] we have caused the first three lines of the *Prohemium* to be accurately copied, and engraved on wood; the fac-simile is executed with all possible accuracy, and might, from its exact resemblance to the original, afford an argument to those who have considered the *Speculum* to have been printed with separate types, engraved on wood or metal, and not with cast type.



To this we have subjoined a specimen of the xylographic part of the text of the same book, taken from the first page of the body of the work; and we have caused it to be printed in the same kind of coloured ink which distinguishes the pages executed with wooden blocks in the original; it will at once be seen that the characters of both specimens are upon the same model, and are probably the production of the same hand; at any rate it is most probable the same calligraphist furnished the prototype of both.



Specimens of the cuts in the Speculum have been given both by Mr. Dibdin and Mr. Ottley; and a most complete analysis and careful examination of it may be found in the work of the latter ofter

[1] Mr. Ottley has however caused to be engraved on copper, facsimiles of all the letters, characters, ligatures, &c. used in the Speculum; and has also given a complete series in the same manner of the characters used in the two pages of the Dutch Speculum, which are printed with types of a smaller size.

those gentlemen above cited; and as it will be in the hands of every one interested in these inquiries, we shall content ourselves with referring the reader to it.

Meerman thought he had discovered a series of books printed in the office of Laurence Janszoon by his heirs, whom he supposes continued to exercise the typographic art at Harlem until 1472. He attributes to them the two Latin editions of the Speculum and that which has hitherto been considered the second Dutch edition: he presumes that they subsequently changed the form of their types, abandoning the rude and heavy type of the Speculum, and adopting a lighter and more regular character, but still using *sculptile* or *sculpto-fusile* types, with which he says they printed the *Historia Alexandri magni de præliis;—Flavii Renati epitoma de re Militari;—B. Hieronymi Liber de Viris Illustribus;* and an edition of *Thomas à Kempis*, all in folio. These books are printed with a singular but not inelegant gothic type, which is not at all on the same model with the type of the Speculum, nor indeed does it resemble that of any other printer of the Low Countries or Holland, in the fifteenth century; but one of the books printed with it has the name of the printers, *Ketelær & de Leempt*, and the date and place where printed, by which it appears it was executed at Utrecht in 1473; we may therefore with safety presume all the other books in this type were also executed by them: these books are for the most part without dates, as well as without the name of the printer; a list of them is given below, and the fac-simile of the two first lines of the *Claudiani de Raptu Proserpinæ*, given in page 138, will enable the reader to decide with how much propriety Meerman attributed these books to the successors of Coster.

It has been seen above that he was ignorant of any book existing with the name of a printer executed with these types, at the time he attributed them to the Harlem printers; and the expedient he adopted to explain this circumstance, when he discovered it, is also there noticed. Ketelær and de Leempt, may be considered the first printers Holland has to boast: they were also most probably

natives of that country: their types it will be seen bear no resemblance to those of the German printers, nor indeed to those used by Theodore Martens, or John of Westphalia.

The grounds then for supposing the *Speculum* to have been printed previous to the productions of the Mentz printers, are, according to Mr. Ottley, the similarity in the style of design and execution, to the *Historia ex Cantico Canticorum* and *Biblia Pauperum*; but the only evidence that either of these block books was executed at an early period of the fifteenth century, is the recollection of Mr. Horn, respecting the inscription on the binding of one of them, and we are not certain whether this anecdote relates to the edition in which this resemblance has been traced. Allowing to Mr. Ottley all he contends for, that the Speculum was executed in Holland previous to 1472, which is before any book is known to have been executed there with moveable types, where is the necessity of admitting that it was executed by Coster at Harlem, or that it was one of the books which led the way to the invention of Typography? It may have been the production of some ingenious *Formschneider* in Holland or Flanders, who having heard of the wonderful art invented in Germany, set about attempting to produce moveable characters, and as he was totally unacquainted with the process of the German printers, his more imperfect method of casting type in moulds of clay or plaster, produced the rude characters with which the *Speculum* and *Catonis Disticha* were printed. Upon the introduction of the more perfect art by Ketelær and de Leempt, or Theodore Martens, these rude and imperfect characters gave place to the regular types which were produced by it: this may account for the very few productions executed in the type of the Speculum.

The first book printed in Holland with a date was executed at Utrecht by Ketelær and de Leempt in the year 1473; it is the Petri Comestoris *Historiæ Scholastica super Novum Testamentum*. To the same printers also belong the books Meerman attributed to the heirs or successors of Coster: he has given a specimen of the types

of one of them in his Origines Typographicæ: the number of books printed by Ketelær and de Leempt appears to have been considerable; there are already fifteen registered by bibliographers, and there are no doubt many which have escaped their notice.[1] Of these the only one which bears the names of the printers is the *Comestorius*. We know not upon what ground Mr. Ottley has doubted whether it was printed at Utrecht: the following is the Colophon. *Scholastica hystoria sup nouū testamentū cum additionibz atq; incidentijs. explicit felicit*r. *Impressa ī trajecto inferiori per magistros Nycolaum Ketelær & Gherardū de Leempt.* M°.CCCC°LXXIIJ°.

This appears plainly enough expressed to place it beyond doubt; for what else can be meant by *Trajecto inferiore* but *lower Utrecht?* It is remarkable, that of the fourteen other books printed with the same types as the *Historia Scholastica* but one has any date affixed; that one is the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius, which is in Lord Spencer's collection, at the end of which is the date

[1] The following books printed by Ketelær and de Leempt, are mentioned in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana.

Eusebius Historia Ecclesiastica 1474
Claudianus de Raptu Proserpinæ s. a.
Cornelius Gallus s. a.
Plutarchi Dicteria s. a.
Sedulius s. a.
Vegetius s. a.
Petrarcha de Vera Sapientia s. a.
Sidonius Apollinaris s. a.

All in folio; to which may be added the following, mentioned by Santander.

Comestor. Secunda pars Historia Scholastica in Nov. Test. 1473.

Guidonis Columna Hist. destruct. Troyæ. s. a.

Defensorium Fidei contra Judæos. s. a.
Thom. Aquinatis de Rege et Regno s. a.
Historia Alexandri Magni de præliis. s. a.
Thomas a Kempis Opera Varia. s. a.
Hieronymi de Viris Illustribus. s. a.

Also all in folio.

Speaking of the Vegetius printed by Ketelær and de Leempt, Mr. Dibdin says, "This edition has not escaped Meerman; in the Orig. Typog. vol. 1. cvi. cviii. notice is taken of several works printed in the same character with that of the present one; and the second fac simile in the viith plate, vol. i. presents us with the first four lines or title of this book. This fac simile may be sufficient to direct us in a knowledge of the type of Ketelær; but it is far from being completely accurate. Meerman had rather a whimsical notion, that these types were first used by the heirs or successors of Laurence Coster at Harlem, who adopted them on rejecting the rude ones of Coster himself; and who afterwards sold them to Ketelær and de Leempt. Jansen has thought proper to adopt this whimsical and, in all probability, fallacious supposition. *De l'Invention de l'Imprimerie, &c.* 1809. 8vo. p. 346-7." BIBLIOTHECA SPENCERIANA. vol. II. p. 455.

M cccc lxxiiij°. We have before us the *Claudiani Siculi de Raptu Proserpinæ*, one among the remaining number, from which we have caused the first two lines, or title of the work, to be copied and engraved on wood: perhaps a more faithful and exact fac simile was never executed.

Claudiani ſiculi viri īprimis doctiſſimi de raptu
proſerpine Tragedia prima heroica īcipit felicit

It will be found, by comparing it with Meerman's copper-plate specimen of the types of the Vegetius, that this is a much more true representation of the types of Ketelær and his associate.

Mr. Ottley has observed, that the type of the Speculum abounds with ligatures, and thinks that this circumstance affords an argument strongly favourable to its antiquity: the type of the *Historia Scholastica* and the other books printed at Utrecht, is equally remarkable, on the contrary, for the infrequency of their occurrence. If we could imagine that the type of the Speculum was engraved, and not cast, we should have a ready solution of this singularity; for, supposing them to have been formed either of wood or metal, by joining together the most usual combinations of letters on one piece, it gave a greater body to the character or type, and made it less liable to warp or bend. With the exception of the different editions of the Speculum, and Lord Spencer's fragment of the *Catonis Disticha*, we have no other books hitherto discovered exactly in the same type; the books printed in the Low Countries on the first introduction of the art there, and the earliest books printed in Holland, are executed with types of quite a different character. It has fallen in our way to observe but one book in which the form of the type is nearly similar, and this is an edition of the Sermons of Saint Bernard, in Dutch, executed at the end of the fifteenth century at

Zwoll, in Holland, by Peter Van Os;[1] it is in the collection of Mr. Douce, who has also a fragment of an edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, in Dutch, executed by the same printer, in a broad faced type of the same general character, but not so like, as that used in the *Sermones S. Bernardi*. It is somewhat singular, that in this edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, a fragment, or part of one of the cuts, of an edition of the Biblia Pauperum, is used as an ornament at the head of one of the chapters.

In 1483 the blocks with which the cuts of the Speculum were printed, served to embellish an edition in Flemish, printed by John Veldener at Culemburg, who had caused them to be sawed or cut down the central pillar which divided the two subjects, to accommodate them to the size of his page. This edition is described by Heinecken to have been in small quarto.

Mr. Dibdin[2] and Heinecken[3] have both remarked, that Veldener was fond of embellishing the books he printed with wood cuts, and the latter has supposed, that if he was not an engraver on wood himself, he must have had them in his service. It is possible, therefore, that he may have been originally a *Form schneider*, and having subsequently turned his attention to printing when the fame of the art had reached Holland, his first essays may have been the type with which the text of the *Speculum* and the *Catonis Disticha* is printed. The imperfect mode in which that type has been produced, whether by casting or engraving, may have been subsequently abandoned by him, when he found that by a more subtle method, much time was to be saved, and greater uniformity produced; the types he used in the *Historia Sancta Crucis* are not on the same model, it

[1] The following is the title of this curious volume, which is a thick folio.

SERMONES BERNARDI IN TUYTSSCHE.

(Colophon.)

Dit boeck is gheeŷndet to zwolle in den stichte van vtricht ter eren gōdes ende Zünder lieuer moeder maria eñ oeck međ ot heŷleñ salicheŷt àlte ghoeder Kerstenē meschē bi mi peter os van breda, wonēde te zwolle Inden iaer ons heren. m. cccc eñ xcv. op os heren hemeluaerts avont indē meŷe

Lof gode in alte tijt

[2] *Bibliotheca Spenceriana. Vol. III. p.* 349.

[3] *Idée d'une Collection complette d'Estampes. p.* 459.

is true; but when his old and imperfect method was changed for the new process, the puncheons which had been used for making his moulds of clay or plaster would by no means serve for the production of matrices in metal, and he would be under the necessity of abandoning them altogether, and forming new ones, for delineating which another scribe may have been employed, another model adopted. It may be objected, that this is only opposing one conjecture to another; we are sorry that we have nothing more certain to offer. The Abbé Mercier de St. Leger communicated an extract to Heinecken from the colophon of a book printed at Louvain by Veldener in 1476, containing a curious passage, in which he asserts, that he understood the art of cutting, engraving, and founding characters, and of designing and painting figures.[1] But even supposing Veldener not to have engraved, or caused to be engraved, the cuts of the Speculum, and the characters of the text, as he became subsequently possessed of them, had there been any tradition accompanying them respecting Coster or Harlem, it would surely have reached us by his means, for he printed two editions of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, an universal chronicle: the first in Latin at Louvain in 1476; the second at Utrecht, in Dutch, in 1480. In this chronicle, under the year 1450, the invention of printing is mentioned, and attributed to Mentz; surely if the claim set up by Holland had any foundation, it would have met with some notice, for Veldener, if he was not the first publisher, must have had direct or indirect communication with the printer of the *Speculum*, or his heirs, and communicative as he seems to have been on other occasions, he would never have withheld his testimony on this subject. The first authentic and undoubted book with a date, printed at Harlem, is the *Formulæ Noviciorum*, printed by John Andriesson in 1483; while at Utrecht we have evidence of the art having been success-

[1] Salve, si te forsan amice delecte novisse juvabit quis hujus voluminis impressorie artis magister atq; pductor fuerit: accipio huic artifici nomen esse mg̃ro Johanni Veldener, cui q̃ certa manu insculpendi, celandi, intorculandi, caracterandi assit industria, adde & figurandi & effigiendi, & si quid in arte secreti est, &c.

fully practised in 1473, at Deventer in 1476, at Louvain and Alost in 1473, and at Brussels about the same period. We can scarcely imagine that if the art had its birth at Harlem, this would have been the case; nor do we think the argument, deducing the silence of cotemporary authorities from the rude and imperfect essays of the Harlem printers having been deemed unworthy of notice, more probable. Surely a singular and important invention like this, would have met with attention, even supposing it not to have been brought to perfection: and what probable reason can be assigned, why no books printed at Harlem should be found with an earlier date, if the art continued to be exercised there without intermission from the period of Coster's death until 1472 or 1473?

In the library of the Marquess of Blandford there is a curious series of prints, apparently intended for an edition of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*; they are arranged four on a page, and are printed with black ink by means of the press, and on both sides of the paper; the number of printed leaves is thirty-three, the last of which has but one subject impressed upon it. The number of subjects is two hundred and fifty-seven; they are not accompanied by any printed text, or explanation of the subjects represented, but have brief written descriptions, sometimes in Latin, and sometimes in German, over each print.

If rudeness of execution could be received as any certain testimony of antiquity, these prints might readily be conceived to take precedence of those in the Dutch Speculum, and they somewhat resemble in style the cuts of the *Apocalypsis S. Joannis:* the first print is the fall of Lucifer. Another edition of the Speculum, supposed to be printed by G. Zainer, in which the text is executed with moveable types, in forty-five chapters, with one hundred and ninety-two vignettes, is described by Heinecken,[1] and a more ample account of it given by Mr. Dibdin.[2]

[1] *Ideé d'une Collection d'Estampes, p.* 465.

[2] *Bibliotheca Spenceriana, Vol.* 4. *p.* 9.

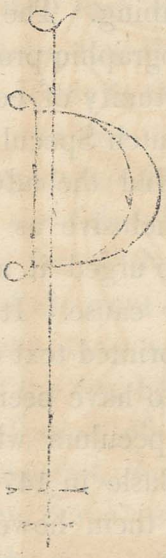
We are happy to have it in our power to exhibit the subjoined fac-simile of one of the prints in this extraordinary volume, the subject the marriage of the Virgin Mary; it is rather a favourable specimen of the style in which they are executed.

The volume which contains these singularly curious cuts was formerly in the collection of the Cardinal de Brienne, and has been described by the Abbé Laire;[1] it contains also, as he has noticed, a

[1] Index Libror. ab inventa Typog. ad annum 1500. Tom. 1. p. 4.

MS. decorated with rude drawings, entitled, " *Compilatio Librorum totius Bibliæ ab Adam usque ad Christum, a fratre Johanne de Utino ordinis minorum diocesis Aquileiensis;*" who terminates his dedicatory epistle to the Patriarch of Aquileia thus, " *hanc cartham manu propria in civitate Utini Aquileiensis diocesis, Anno Domino Mille°.ccc°.xliij° de mense Januarii, cum eis figuris conscripsi.* Laire asserts, that this is the original manuscript; and says it is decorated with illuminations which are not bad, considering the time when they were executed. Now it is remarkable, that the water-marks of the paper throughout the volume, both in the manuscript above cited and in the leaves upon which the cuts are impressed, are the same: that which most frequently occurs is the following, marked No. 1.

No. 1.



No. 2.

Indeed there is but one other, and that is found only on two or three of the latter leaves of the manuscript part of the volume, where the paper is evidently of a different texture. We have however thought it best to have it also copied; and it is here subjoined, and marked No. 2.

Now, supposing the assertion of Laire could be depended on

and the manuscript in question could be considered of the date assigned to it (1344), we should here have one of the earliest attested specimens of the xylographic art. It is evident, that Laire had not observed the water-marks, for he says, the wood-cuts very much resemble those in the *Miroir de l'humain lignaige*, thrice printed at Lyons, from the year 1479 to 1483, but that they are much ruder. According to Santander, the water-mark most prevalent in this volume, is found on the paper of books printed by Lucas Brandis de Schass, at Lubec in 1475, and by Rodt and Wenzler at Basle. It is most probable, therefore, that this curious work was the production of one of those artists; and we rather incline to the supposition that it may have been executed by Lucas de Brandis; for in the *Rudimentum Noviciorum*, printed by him in 1475, a great number of wood-cuts are introduced, many of which resemble, in point of style, those in the work we are describing. The motive for introducing a description of this singular xylographic production in this place, was to afford the reader an opportunity of comparing a specimen of it with the specimens from the Dutch Speculum, which are given by Mr. Dibdin and Mr. Ottley. Had the advocates for Harlem stumbled upon any thing half so conclusive as the date of the manuscript in this case, they would have urged it as a strong and irrefragable argument in favour of their cause. It is possible that copies of this curious work exist with a printed text or description subjoined, but no copy of it appears to have been known to Heinecken, unless we suppose the German Speculum which he describes as printed by Bernhard Richel at Basle in 1476, to have been decorated with these cuts; he describes them however of the size of playing cards, and it is obvious that those we are describing are larger; but as every day shews us that we are not at the end of our typographical discoveries, we may reasonably hope that some future bibliographer will be enabled to set this matter at rest, by finding a copy with the printed text, the date, and name of the printer. A work exclusively on these block books, brought forward in an unostentatious form, and containing fac-similes of the princi-

pal ones, is still a desideratum; for as Heinecken's work was devoted to other objects, it could hardly be expected that he should enter more largely into this curious department of Bibliography.

Inquiries into the origin of Customs and Inventions, which are rarely mentioned in the early written annals of nations, may be sometimes successfully illustrated by calling in the aid of traditional evidence preserved among the people, and handed down from age to age: for although these traditions are not entitled to the same kind of respect which historical evidence or the testimony of records claims, yet they may occasionally assist conjecture, and be received with indulgence in the absence of more decisive proofs; especially when they serve to elucidate the origin of an art, whose beginning can scarcely be traced through the maze of obscurity in which its earliest essays are concealed. But at the same time it would be required, that such evidence should be unattended with suspicious circumstances, that there should be no appearance of collusion, or attempt at deceit in the witnesses; that the facts should at least be probable; and that there should be no direct and positive testimony which contradicted them.

Let us see if the claims of Harlem and Laurence Coster are thus supported; for, setting aside the improbabilities of the relation of Junius and the want of contemporary evidence, are there no suspicious circumstances attending the fact of the Magistracy and States General of the city being always directly or indirectly concerned in the promulgation of these pretensions? thus, Junius, Coornheert and Guicciardini, Scriverius and Seiz, all dedicate their works to them. Van Zuren[1] was *Scabinus* or Sheriff, and afterwards Burgomaster of the city, and as he is the earliest authority adduced, is it not possible that the information of Coornhert, and the reports al-

[1] There is a most exquisitely engraved Portrait of him by H. Goltzius, from a picture by Heemskirk, which is very rare: at the top is inscribed, " *Joannes Zurenus A° Aetat.* 71. *Domini* 88." at the bottom are the following verses.

Corporis effigiem expressit quam Goltzius ære,
Heemskerkus docta pinxit et ante manu
Tunc inerat formæ florenti gratia maior.
Plurima nunc faciem ruga senilis arat.

luded to by Guicciardini, may have had their origin in his assertions? Quirinus Talesius,[1] one of Junius's authorities, was also Burgomaster, and as he lived until 1573 it is impossible that he could have heard the relation from the mouth of old Cornelius the bookbinder,[2] who lived with Laurence Coster in 1428!! It may also be remarked, that the publication of the Batavia of Junius being posthumous, gave opportunity of interpolation if deceit was intended; and the Dialogue of Van Zuren, of which a fragment was recovered by Scriverius, may have been a fabrication. Scriverius[3] is one of the most determined advocates of the cause of Harlem; he suffers not little objections to stand in his way, but adapts the rela-

[1] Santander has made an important remark respecting Quirinus Talesius, who, he observes, was Secretary to Erasmus for some years: it is not possible therefore to conceive, that Erasmus could have been ignorant of a story related by his Secretary to Junius; if Erasmus knew it, it is difficult to conceive that he should have passed over so remarkable a circumstance in silence, when he had such numerous occasions to speak of the typographic art and its history, as he was united in the strictest bonds of friendship with Theodore Martens of Alost, a celebrated printer, and probably the first who exercised the art in Belgium. Erasmus would have the strongest motives for recording the fact if he had known it, or believed it true, as it would have reflected honour on his native land: but on the contrary, if he mentions the invention of the art, he always attributes it to Mentz, and has not even hinted at the pretensions of Harlem.

[2] Mr. Ottley, in a note, p. 185, has attempted to shew the probability of Nicholas Galius the schoolmaster having heard this relation from old Cornelius the bookbinder, but he admits the improbability of Quirinus Talesius having derived his information from him; he says, "It is scarcely possible, unless we suppose both Cornelius and Talesius to have reached the age of nearly an hundred, that the latter should have heard the story from the mouth of the former;" and proceeds to offer a proposition, that we should suppose his informant was a younger Cornelius, relation and successor to the former. Junius however asserts it was the same individual, and Meerman makes no difficulty of assuring us it was. Mr. O. observes, "this conclusion is little calculated to give weight to Cornelius's testimony, and it ill accords with the belief that Janszoon or Coster died in 1440, for Cornelius could at most have been only ten or twelve years of age when he lived with Coster in 1440." Would it not be a more ready solution to suppose, that Junius's popular tradition related to the year 1470, instead of 1440? all difficulties of this kind would then vanish.

[3] The reader may see some odd stories of the amorous propensities of Scriverius, related upon the authority of Isaac Vossius, in the *Colomesiana*. V. the collection published by Des Maizeaux, under the title of *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana et Colomesiana. Amsterdam*, 1740. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 534-5.

tions of Junius and others to his own conceptions, and the necessities of the case, by alteration without scruple, and sings *Io triumphe* on all occasions.[1]

Such a resolute champion as this, supposing him to have been free from any intention to deceive, would be easily deceived himself; his book was not only inscribed to the States, but printed by their printer with all the luxury of typography, embellished with the portrait of their hero, Coster, his statue, and (*mirabile dictu*) a representation of his office with all its appendages, himself busily employed in correcting the press! a number of separate copies were taken off besides those appended to Ampzing's description of Harlem, and probably at the expense of the States, to establish their favourite point; this circumstance seems to evince they were determined not to lose the honour of the invention by neglecting to assert their claims. But that the fable had their sanction, and probably its origin among them, no writer would have been hardy enough to have endeavoured to impose upon their belief so improbable a relation.

This story of Coster, therefore, like an unsupported tradition, must fail of obtaining our credence; and Harlem, having chosen to connect her claims with it so inseparably, must consequently forfeit her pretensions to the honour of the invention: indeed it is obvious, that, independent of this tradition, there is little which can be urged in favour of her claims, for the first book printed within her walls which is furnished with a date, was not executed before the year 1483. This circumstance alone has a strong tendency to shake our faith in the assertions of her advocates; for it seems unreasonable to suppose, that if the art had its origin among her sons, it should have lain dormant so long a period, and that when the

[1] The following verses were written by Scriverius, and were afterwards inscribed over the door of the house at Harlem, where Coster is said to have exercised the art.

Vana quid archetypos & præla Moguntia jactas?
Harlemi archetypos prælaque nata scias
Extulit hic, monstrante Deo, Laurentius artem.
Dissimulare virum hunc, dissimulare Deum est.

After this, would not any one imagine that the *proofs* of the invention of typography by Coster were incontrovertible?

fame of this art, and the attention it excited, became spread through all the states of Europe she should still continue in her lethargy, nor rouse herself until a period much later than many of her neighbouring cities. That she should have had no one to advocate her claims, and urge her pretensions, when it was not yet too late to have established their verity by unsuspicious evidence, at a time too when Germany was claiming and receiving the honour in the most public manner on all occasions. Yet such is the fact, that no author, no work of the fifteenth century or the commencement of the sixteenth, can be found, which affords the slightest support to her pretensions.

There can be little doubt that the typographic art owes its origin to ideas excited by the rude attempts of the *Formschneider*; and it is possible, as the author of the Cologne Chronicle has related, on the authority of Ulric Zell, that the Donatuses of Holland may have suggested them, but this makes nothing for the cause of Coster and Harlem: these Donatuses were most probably xylographic productions, and we think if the passage in that Chronicle be attentively considered, it will sanction this inference. The wood cut of St. Bridget,[1] in Lord Spencer's collection, of which Mr. Ottley has given a fac-simile, and which he attributes to some artist of the Low Countries at the close of the fourteenth century, may with a much greater degree of certainty be given to Germany, for, if we mistake not, there is a German inscription upon the print, and as it appears that St. Bridget was a favourite subject with the artists of Germany, it becomes highly probable, this very curious and early xylographic specimen was executed there. The circumstance of the wood cuts of St. Christopher and of the Annunciation having been found at Buxheim, also point out that country as the place where they were executed, and there are such numerous rude specimens in existence, which bear evident marks of having been executed in Germany, that we cannot doubt but the art was very early exercised,

[1] See supra, page 93, in note.

if not invented, there. If, therefore, the invention of typography owes any thing to the suggestions of the engravers on wood in Holland, it can only have been the adaptation of the xylographic art to the purpose of printing books, or the excitation of the train of ideas which led to the discovery of moveable types.

Having shewn the grounds upon which the city of Harlem lays claim to the invention of printing, it may be necessary briefly to adduce the evidence in favour of the city of Mentz; the reader will then have an opportunity of comparing them together, and of making his decision. Contemporary documents, and incontrovertible facts, are the only solid grounds upon which the history of discoveries can with safety be founded; but many of the writers who have transmitted memorials of this extraordinary invention to posterity, have either wilfully or ignorantly perverted those which have come to their knowledge, and others have been content to promulgate hearsay reports; thus has the early history of this divine art been embroiled, until it appeared as if nothing certain was known upon the subject. The simplest method would have been to have relied implicitly upon the evidence of the original testimonies of contemporaries, and the evidence afforded by the undoubted early typographical monuments; to these may now be added the documents discovered by Schoepflin and others in the archives at Mentz. The most remarkable of which are, 1°. the process between *Gutenberg* and the heirs of *Andrew Dritzehen*, which dates in 1439: first published in the Vindiciæ Typographicæ.[1] 2°. The documents of the process in 1455, between John Fust and Gutenburg relative to money lent to the latter by the former, for the purpose of carrying on the printing business; this may be found in the collection of Wolfius, and in Koehler.[2] 3°. The transaction between Gutenberg, his brother and three of his cousins, with the abbess and nuns of the convent of St. Clair at Mentz, dated the 20th of July, 1459, disco-

[1] Among his *Documenta* at the end of the Vindiciæ Typographicæ, No. 2.

[2] Monumenta Typographica. Hamburgi, 1740. 2 tom. 12° Ehrerenrettung Iohann Gutenbergs, 4to. Leipsic, 1741.

vered by M. Bodman, and first published by Fischer,[1] in which Gutenburg mentions the books (printed by him) he had already given to that convent, and engages to give them all which he shall in future print. 5°. The Act by which the Archbishop Elector of Mentz admits Gutenburg among the number of noble attendants in his household, dated at Eltvill in 1465.[2] 6°. The letter of Conrad Humery to the Archbishop of Mentz, in which he engages not to sell to any foreigner the typographic apparatus of Gutenburg, of which he had become the proprietor by favour of the Archbishop: it is dated at Mentz in 1468.[3] Others of less importance are cited in the note below,[4] and it is upon a comparison of these incontestible evidences with the testimony of writers who were contemporaries of Gutenberg, or who wrote immediately after the invention and promulgation of the art of printing, that the following summary of facts is given.

Henne or *John Gœnsfleisch of Sulgeloch*, surnamed *Gutenburg*, was born about the close of the fourteenth century at Mentz; his father's name also appears to have been *Henne* or John, his mother's name is unknown. He is supposed to have had two brothers, and it is certain that he had two sisters, who were both nuns in the convent of St. Clair at Mentz. Although of noble birth, it should seem that his fortunes were but slender: without this powerful in-

[1] Essai sur les Monumens Typographiques de Jean Gutenburg, 4to. Mayence, An. X.

[2] Also published in Köhler's Life of Gutenburg, above cited.

[3] Scriptores Rer. Mogunt. Tom. III. p. 424.

[4] 7°. An Act of Accommodation made by Conrad the III. Archbishop of Mentz, between the nobility and commonalty of Mentz in 1430, *published by Köhler.*

8° The Act by which Gutenberg releases the *Greffier* of Mentz, whom he had caused to be arrested for arrears of rent due to him by that city, *published in the Vindiciæ Typog. Documenta, No.* 1.

9° The Rolls called *Helbeling Zollbuch*, or registers of the imposts levied from 1439 to 1445 on account of the war in Alsatia. *Extracts are given by Schoepflin. Documenta, No.* 7, 8.

10° Two Acts relative to the sale of the revenues derived by Gutenburg from the city of Mentz, dated in 1441, 1442. *Published by Schoepflin. Documenta, No.* 5, 6.

11° The Diploma by which the Archbishop Elector Adolphus receives Gutenberg among the Gentlemen of his Household. *Published by Köhler.*

centive to action; his ingenuity, and his love of the ingenious arts, would not perhaps have been sufficient to have excited him to the exertion necessary for the perfection of the sublime invention, to which he appears to have so just a claim, and which will carry down his name to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. The manner in which he passed his youth, it were now vain to inquire; suffice it, that he appears to have left Mentz, and to have been settled at Strasburg, where we find him in 1424, as appears from a letter addressed by him to his sister Bertha. His father died in 1430, and he appears still to have been absent from Mentz; we have further evidence that he was at Strasburg in 1434, for at the instance of the senate of Mentz, he releases Nicolas the Greffier, whom he had caused to be arrested for 310 florins, due to him by that city.[1] It has been seen that Meerman places the pretended journey of Gutenburg to the fair of Aix la Chapelle in 1435, and his subsequent visit to his brother at Harlem, where he learned the typographic art; but it does not appear that he was absent from Strasburg: Meerman's account is therefore without foundation.

In 1436 we find Gutenburg still at Strasburg, where he is associated with Andrew Dritzehen and others; and in 1437 he appears before the ecclesiastical court to answer to the suit of *Anne zur Isern Thüre*,[2] to whom he appears to have made a promise of marriage, and whom it should seem he married in the sequel, as the name of Anne Gutenberg appears upon the rolls of contribution in that city. In 1439 Gutenburg's name is found in some public records of Strasburg:[3] it is in this year that *Seiz*[4] makes Gutenburg take a journey to Harlem, and engage himself as a servant to Laurence Coster, in order to learn the secret of the art of printing; and in 1440 the pretended robbery of Coster by him is said to have happened. It is also in this year the process instituted by George Dritzehen, brother of his late partner, took place. It appears by the

[1] Schoepflin. Documenta, No. 1.

[2] Vindiciæ Typog. p. 17, et Documenta, No. VI.

[3] Ibidem. Documenta, No. VI.

[4] Annus Tertius Secularis Inventæ Artis Typographicæ Harlemi, 1741. 8vo. p. 156.

documents relative to this suit, which have been published by Schoepflin,[1] that Gutenburg was occupied by other arts besides that of printing; he had taught Andrew Dritzehen the art of polishing glass, and others bordering upon the marvellous. That he had subsequently associated himself with John Riff, Andrew Heilman, and the above Andrew Dritzehen, to whom he had engaged to reveal all his secrets in these arts on certain conditions; that Andrew Dritzehen dying, Gutenburg refused to admit his brothers into the concern, upon which they brought this process, and he was condemned to pay to them what was due to their brother, according to the articles entered into between him and Gutenberg. By some of the very curious depositions concerning this process, it clearly appears, that one of the principal of these secret and wonderful arts was the invention of printing; and it should seem, that moveable characters were then used by him, but whether of wood or metal we have no means of determining. The following declarations of some of the witnesses are too curious and interesting to be omitted. "Anne, wife of John Scultheiss, workman in wood, declared that Laurence Beildeck came one day to her house to seek her cousin, Nicholas Dritzehen, and said to him, My dear Nicholas Dritzehen, the late Andrew Dritzehen has left four pieces lying in a press; Gutenburg has begged that they may be taken out and separated, in order that no one may see what they are, for he would not have any one see them."[2] John Scultheiss declared, "that after the death of Andrew Dritzehen, Laurence Beildeck being come to his house, to see Nicholas Dritzehen, brother to the defunct, had said to him, Andrew Dritzehen, your brother, has left four pieces lying in a press: John Gutenburg has requested you will take them out and place them separately upon the press, because then no one can see

[1] Documenta, No. 2.

[2] Frouwe Ennel Hanns Scultheisen frouwe des holtzmans hat geseit das Lorentz Beldeck zu einer zit inn ir hus kommen sy zu Claus Dritzehen irem vetter und sprach zu ime, lieber Claus Dritzehen selig hat iiij Stücke in einer pressen ligen, do hatt Guttenberg gebetten das ir die usz der pressen nement und die von einander legent uff das man nit gewissen kune was es sy dann er hatt nit gerne das das jemand sihet.

what they are."[1] Conrad Sahspach declared, " that Andrew Heilman came one day to him in Kremer gasse (a place or street so named) and said to him, My dear Conrad, Andrew Dritzehen is dead; you made the presses, and you know for what purpose; go and take out the pieces from the press, and decompose them, then no one will know what they are."[2] Laurence Beildeck declared " that John Gutenburg sent him one day to Nicholas Dritzehen, after the death of his brother Andrew, to tell him, not to shew any one the press that he had; which this witness accordingly did. He requested him also, to take the trouble to go to the press and open the two screws, that then the pieces would separate of themselves; and that he had only to lay them within or upon the press, and by this means no one could see or divine what it was."[3] This witness likewise declared, " that he well knew Gutenburg had sent his servant a little before Christmas to the two Andrews, to get the forms, and that they were there recast under his own eye, because there were some of them which were not to his mind. But that after the death of Andrew, this witness knowing many people were curious to see the press, Gutenburg told him to send to the press, for he

[1] — und sprach da Lorenz Beildeck zu Claus Dritzehen, Andres Dritzehen uwer bruder selige hat iiij Stücke undenan inn einer pressen ligen, da hat uch Hanns Gutemberg gebetten das ir die presse legent von einander so kan man net geseken was das ist.

[2] und sprack zu ime lieber Cūrad als Andres Dritzehen abgangen ist da hastu die pressen gemacht und weist umb die sache do gang dohin und nym die Stücke usz der pressen und zerlege sü von einander so weis nyemand was es ist.

[3] Lorenz Beildeek het geseit das Johann Gutenberg jn su einer Zit geschikt het zu Claus Dritzehen sagen das er die presse die er hünder jm hett nieman oigete zoigete, das ouch diser Gezug det, und rette ouch one und sprach so vil un gon über die presse und die mit den zweyin wurbelin uff dun so vielent die stücke voneinander, dieselben stücke solt er dann in die presse oder uff die presse lege so kunde darnack niemand gesehen noch ut gemereken.

Dirre gezuge hat ouch geseit das er wol wisse das Gutenberg unlange vor Wihnahten sinen Knecht sante zu den beden Andressen, alle formen zu holen, und jn zoch ettliche formen ruwete. Do noch do Andres selige abeginge, und dirre gezuge wol wuste das lüte gern hettent die presse gesehen, do spreche Gutenberg sü soltent noch der pressen senden erforhte das man sü sehe, do sante er sinen Knecht darin sü zur legen.

feared it would be seen; and that he sent his own servant to decompose it." Hans Dunne, Goldsmith, declared, "that it was about three years since, that Gutenberg had caused him to gain three hundred florins, merely for what concerned printing."[1]

Here then we have manifest proof that this art had occupied Gutenberg for several years previous to 1439, and the most sceptical advocate for Coster and Harlem will hardly refuse his credence to such circumstantial evidence: whether Gutenburg at this period used blocks, or characters of wood, or types of metal, it is perhaps not now possible to determine; but the circumstance of a goldsmith having been employed, seems to favour the supposition that they were of metal. The press had been set up at the house of Andrew Dritzehen, but it does not appear that the typographic art obtained the exclusive attention of Gutenburg while he resided at Strasburg; it was not until his removal to Mentz that it had his undivided and entire attention, and that the art arrived at such a degree of perfection, as to make it a source of admiration and wonder. From another document among those furnished by this process, it appears that Andrew Dritzehen had become surety for the payment of several sums for quantities of lead purchased by Gutenburg; this circumstance gives colour also to the surmise about the use of metal types in these early attempts.[2]

It does not appear that the year in which Gutenburg quitted Strasburg and took up his abode at Mentz is correctly known; his name appears on the rolls at Strasburg in 1444,[3] and yet it should seem that he had hired the house called *Zum jungen*, where he first established his press at Mentz in 1443. Oberlin places his return to Mentz between the years 1445-1450.[4] As none of the books printed by Gutenberg have his name affixed to them, and perhaps but one of them has any designation of the year, and place where

[1] Hans Dünne der goltsmyt hat geseit, das er vor dryen joren oder do by Gutenberg by den hundert guldin abe verdienet habe alleine das zu dem trucken gehoret.

[2] So were auch Andres Drytzehen an vil enden do sie bli vnd anders das dazu gehört kaufft hettent, bürge worden, das er auch vergolten vnd bezahlt hette.

[3] Schoepflin. Documenta, No. 7.

[4] Annales de la Vie de Jean Gutenburg. Strasbourg, 1801. 8*vo*. *p*. 19.

printed,[1] it would be in vain now to attempt a chronological list of his productions; there is however some reason to suppose that his first essays were brief works of a popular nature, and in general request, such as the elementary grammar termed a Donatus, and other books consisting of but few pages, and which required only a small quantity of types to execute them.

In 1450 Gutenburg entered into a kind of partnership with *John Fust*, or *Faust*, a rich citizen of Mentz, for the purpose of establishing a press there, and for the furtherance of the printing business, to which his own means do not appear to have been competent.[2] The sums advanced by Fust to Gutenburg, under whose superintendence

[1] The CATHOLICON of *Johannis Balbi de Janua*. Wurdtwein, in his Bibliotheca Moguntina, 1787, 4to. p. 66, describes this volume fully; and all the authorities are cited, and the most important of them extracted, in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. III. p. 32. The types are said to be essentially different from those used by Fust and Schoeffer, and to be exactly similar to those in the Vocabulary executed at Eltvil, or Elfeld, in 1467, and again in 1469. Eltvil is near to Mentz, and was the residence of the Archbishop Elector. Conrad Humery is supposed to have furnished Gutenburg with the means of establishing his press again after his separation from Fust; and in 1465, when Gutenberg passed into the service of the Elector, the printing office was of course ceded to him. Henry Bechtermuntze was most probably the principal workman, and the office when removed to Eltvil continued under his care. Nicolas Bechtermuntze, his brother, and Wiegand Spies, finished the edition of 1467, for Henry died during the impression. The colophon is given by *Laire*, T. I. p. 51, and by *Santander*, T. III. p. 467. 8. Mr. Dibdin has inadvertently said, that the name of Wiegand Spies does not appear in the colophon. This is sufficient proof that the Catholicon of 1460 was printed by Gutenburg; but there are other strong reasons for attributing it to him: for these I must refer the reader to *Fischer*, in his *Essai*, &c. p. 84. The colophon is interesting, and remarkable for its modesty; we have pleasure in subjoining it.

Altissimi presidio cuius nutu infantium lingue fiunt diserte. Qui q; nūo sepe puulis reuelat quod sapientibus celat. Hic liber egregius. catholicon. dñice incarnacionis annis Mcccclx Alma in urbe maguntina nacionis inclite germanice. Quam die clemencia tam alto ingenii lumine. dono q; gtuito. ceteris terraꝝ nacionibus preferre. illustrare q; dignitatus est Non calami. stili. aut penne suffragio. ſz mira patronaꝝ formaꝝ q; concordia ꝓporcione et modulo. impressus atq; confectus est.

Hinc tibi sancte pater nato cu flamine sacro. Laus et honor dño trino tribuatur et uno Ecclesie laude libro hoc catholice plaude Qui laudare piam semper non linque mariam. DEO. GRAcIAS

[2] Trithemii Annales Hirsaugenses ad ann. 1450.

the establishment was carried into effect, having become very considerable, the result was a litigation between them. Fust instituting a process against Gutenburg for the recovery of 2020 gold florins, which he had furnished, and the interest accruing thereon. Gutenburg in his reply states, that the first 800 florins had not been paid him at once, according to the contract, and that they had been employed in preparations for the work; that in regard to the other sums, he offered to render an account; and he thought he was not liable to pay the interest. The Judges having taken the depositions of each party, Gutenburg was sentenced to pay the interest, as well as that part of the capital which his accounts proved to have been employed for his particular use. Fust obtained the record of this sentence from *Helmasperger*, the notary, on the 6th of November, 1455.[1] By this it should seem that the undertaking was of such magnitude as to require very large sums of money; and it is supposed that the celebrated Latin bible was produced by Gutenburg during this short association with Fust; that is, between the years 1450-1455. Trithemius however relates, that the first book printed by Gutenburg and Fust was a vocabulary or Catholicon, executed with wooden blocks.

The consequence of this dissolution of partnership between Gutenburg and Fust, was, that Gutenburg was obliged to cede to Fust all the moulds, types, presses, and utensils, which were previously engaged to him as surety for the payment of the sums he had advanced. Gutenburg probably sought immediately to re-establish his printing materials; for an act, referred to above, to which he was a principal party in the year 1459,[2] proves incontestibly, that

[1] Seckenburgii Selecta juris et historiarum, T. 1.
Köhler Ehrenrettung, p. 54.
Fournier Origine de l'Imprimerie primitive. Paris, 1759. 8vo. p. 116.

[2] First published by *Fischer:* a French translation is inserted in *Oberlin's Annales de Gutenburg.* The passage is given in the original German from the *Essai sur les Monumens Typographiques de Gutenburg. p.* 48, *&c.*

" Vnd vmb die bucher, die ich Henne obgen. gegeben han zu der Liberey des vorgen. Closters, die szollen beliben bystendig vnd ewiclichen by derselben liberey vnd sal vnd will ich Henne obgen. deme selben Closter in ire liberey, auch furters geben vnd reichen die bucher, die sie vnd ire Nach-

he still remained at Mentz; and in this curious document the mention of the books which he had already printed, and which he may in future print, demonstrates that he was engaged in the printing business, and that he continued the exercise of his art from the period of his separation from Fust until 1465, when being received among the gentlemen of the household of the Elector of Mentz with a competent pension, he quitted it entirely;[1] he appears not long to have survived this appointment, for he died in February 1468.

The books Gutenburg printed, from the circumstance of none of them bearing his name, are not certainly known; but it is not doubted that he executed an edition of the bible: we are inclined to attribute to him that which is said to be in the characters afterwards used by Albert Pfister at Bamberg,[2] rather than that which has been hitherto supposed to be executed by him, for the following reasons: in the year 1804 Fischer published at Mentz an account of a curious typographical fragment he had discovered,[3] and which, with much probability, he attributes to the press of Gutenburg; it is part of a Calendar or Almanack for the year 1457, printed with moveable characters in oblong folio. It was in the course of his researches among some old useless papers, which had been thrown

kommen gebruchent zu geistlichen frommen werken vnd zu irme Godesdinst, es sy zum lesen zum singen, oder wie sie daz gebruchent nach den Regelen vis ordens die ich Henne vorgen han tun trucken, nu, oder furters trucken mag, als ferre sie der gebruchens, ane geuerde." Of which the following is the sense. "And with regard to the books that I, Henne (or John) above named, have given to the library of the convent, they are to remain in the said library for ever. And I, John, above named, shall and will further give and present to the said convent, for their library and for the use of the nuns present and future, and for the purposes of their religious devotion, either for reading, or for singing, or in whatever manner they may chuse to use them, according to the rules of their order, the books which I John have already printed, or which I may in future print," &c.

[1] First published in *Köhler's Ehrenrettung Johan Gutenbergs.*

[2] For an ample description of this Bible, see *Bibliotheca Spenceriana,* vol. 1. p. 7. Mr. Dibdin has given fac-similes of the types of this and the Mazarine bible, which will enable the reader to judge of the degree of probability of the above conjecture.

[3] *Notice du Premier Monument Typographique en caracteres mobiles, avec date connue jusqu'à ce jour. A Mayence,* 1804. 4*to.*

out of the archives at Mentz, that he made this discovery: it served as a cover to a book of accounts of the year 1457: the types resemble those of some fragments of a Donatus which he had previously discovered, and of which he published an account and fac-simile in a former work. It is natural, says he, to suppose that an almanack which was to serve for the year 1457 must have been printed at the end of the preceding year, and hence it is certain that this fragment was executed in 1456.

In 1808 I. C. F. Von Aretin, director of the library at Munich, published an account of another highly curious typographic discovery,[1] being a metrical Exhortation to excite the states of Christendom to a crusade against the Turks, executed in the year 1454: it consists of five leaves, four of which are printed on both sides: there are twenty lines on a page, and though the whole of it is in verse, it is printed as prose, and the lines run one into the other; the commencement of each line being marked by a capital letter, and further distinguished by a red mark passed through it by the illuminator. The title of this interesting early typographical monument is

Eyn manūg d' cristēheit widd' die durkē.

Toward the bottom of the first page is the following passage, from whence the year in which it was executed is gathered.

Auch werden dis iar xii nuwer schin
Uisteren die xii zeichē des himmels din:
Als mā zelet noch dīn geburt uffenbar
M. cccc. lv. iar
Siebē wochē un iiij dage do by
Von natitatis his esto michi.

[1] *Über die frühesten universal historischen Folgen der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst. München,* 1808. 4*to*. With a complete fac-simile of the earliest specimen of German printing hitherto discovered. This fac-simile is of the whole Tract, containing five leaves; and is curious as being a production of the newly invented *Lithographic* process.

This is also in the same type with the Donatus and Almanack described by Fischer, and as far as the fac-similes published enable us to judge, it is the same with the large type which is used at the commencement of the Letters of Indulgence of 1455; but what appears certain is, that the bible, commonly called Schelhorn's bible, and which has been attributed to Pfister at Bamberg by Camus and Mr. Dibdin, is printed in the same type. The reasons of those Bibliographers for attributing this bible to Pfister are, that the same type is used in the Histories of Joseph, Daniel, Judith, and Esther, printed by him at Bamberg in 1462.

From the discovery of the two very curious typographical monuments described above, which were certainly executed in 1454 and 1456, we must draw one of the following conclusions; either that they are the productions of Gutenburg, or that Pfister printed at Bamberg at a much earlier period than has hitherto been suspected, and that they were executed by him. The German Exhortation, a complete fac-simile of the whole of which has been published by Aretin, has all the marks of an early essay in the art; for the lines are irregularly spaced, and the right hand margin is not in register, the lines being of unequal length; and it has altogether the air of a rude performance, at least quite as much so as the *Catonis Disticha*, printed in the types of the Speculum. The circumstance of the type being larger and more rude, than that used in the Bible usually attributed to Gutenburg, has some weight in deciding our opinion that Schelhorn was right in his supposition, and that the Bible executed in the types afterwards used by Pfister was the production of Gutenberg, for we can scarcely believe that Pfister printed so early as 1454, in which year we have seen these types were in use.

A very singular passage from a manuscript by Paul of Prague which bears the date of 1459,[1] preserved in the public library at

[1] This curious passage was first printed in a journal published at Warsaw in 1788. (*Der Pohlnische Bibliothek. c. ix.*) Some further notice of it appeared in the *Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung*, 1791. *No.* 258. *p.* 636. "LIBRIPAGUS *est artifex sculpens*

Cracow, has been adduced as a proof of the early exercise of the art at Bamberg; and although the definition of the word *Libripagus* is expressed in sufficiently barbarous terms, yet it is evident that the author had been a witness of the wonders produced by the typographic art, but had not comprehended the means by which they were effected.

This is not the place to enter more at large into the subject, and we must content ourselves with having thrown out the hint, leaving it to the future historian of typography to decide upon its claim to attention. Already has this inquiry occupied more space than was intended, and we must now proceed to adduce the testimonies in favour of Mentz, in the fifteenth century, with as much brevity as possible. The first in order is the barbarous metrical inscription placed by the corrector of the press at the end of an edition of the Institutes of Justinian, printed by Schoeffer in 1468,[1] which point out Mentz as the birth-place of the art, and give the invention to Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer.

In the Chronicle printed by Philip de Lignamine at Rome, in 1474, the latter part of which is presumed to have been compiled by him, are the following interesting notices, which are considered

subtiliter in laminibus æreis, ferreis ac ligneis solidi ligni, atque aliis, imagines, scripturam et omne quodlibet, vt prius imprimat papyro aut parieti aut asseri mundo. Scindit omne quod cupit et est homo faciens talia cum picturis; et tempore mei Bambergæ quidam sculpsit integram Bibliam super lamellas, et in quatuor septimanis totam Bibliam in pergameno subtili præsignavit sculpturam." Sprenger in his account of Early Printing at Bamberg (*Aelteste Buchdruckergeschichte von Bamberg, Nuremberg* 1800), has laid considerable stress on this document; and it has been cited and remarked upon by *Camus Mem. de l'Institut. Litterature et Beaux Arts, T.* 11. *Supplement.* by *Fischer Monumens Typog. de Gutenberg, p.*65.—by *Daunou Analyse des Opinions sur l'Orig. de l'Imprimerie,* and by *Lambinet preface à l'Origine de l'Imprimerie.*

[1] Quos genuit ambos urbs Moguntina Ioannes
Librorum insignes prothocharagmaticos
Cum quibus optatum Petrus venit ad Polyandrum
Cursu posterior, introeundo prior.

The two *Johns* in the above extract are Gutenburg and Fust; *Peter* is Schoeffer, who began the *last,* but arrived the *first* at the perfection of the art. These verses consist of 24 lines in the original, but there is nothing important in them, except the *four* lines quoted above: the reader may see them in *Wurdtwein Bibliotheca Moguntina, p.* 91, *et seq.*

the earliest *printed* memorandums upon this subject, they occur under the years 1458 and 1464.[1] "James surnamed Gutenburg, a native of Strasburg, and another whose name was Fust, printed letters on parchment with metal types, skilfully executing 300 sheets daily, at Mentz, a city of Germany. John surnamed Mentelin, at Strasburg, a city of the same province, also skilled in this same art, printed the same number of sheets daily." Six leaves beyond this passage, under the year 1464, is the notice of Schweynheim and Pannartz and Ulric Han cited below. There are some inaccuracies in this account: Gutenburg is called *James*, and made a native of Strasburg; but it is upon the whole well entitled to credit. It may be remarked, that by the 300 sheets which Lignamine asserts they printed in one day, must have been meant 300 impressions of *one* sheet.

The Chronicle of Eusebius was continued to the year 1449, by Matteo Palmieri of Florence, and further brought down to the year 1481, by Matteo Palmieri of Pisa, who died in 1483. Under the year 1457, he says,[2] "John Gutenburg, *zum jungen*, a nobleman at Mentz on the Rhine, invented the art of printing in 1440, the knowledge of which is at this time dispersed almost in every part of the world."

[1] For a copious and interesting account of this chronicle, consult the Biblioth. Spencer. Vol. iii. p. 251, from whence the following extracts are transcribed: "Iacobus cognōmto Gutenburgo: patria Argentinus & quidam alter cui nomen Fustus imprimendaꝫ litteraꝫ in membranis cum metallicis formis periti trecentas cartas quisq; eoꝫ p diem facere innotescūt apud Magūtiam Germanice ciuitatem. Ioannes quoq; Mentelinus nuncupatus apud Argentinam ejusdem puincie cantatem: ac in eodem artificio peritus totidem cartas p diem īprimere agnoscitur."

"Conradus suueynem: ac Arnoldus pannarcz Vdalricus Gallus parte ex alia Teuthones librarii insignes Romā ueniēte primi imprimendorum librorum artem in Italiam introduxere trecētas cartas per diem imprimentes."

[2] "Quantum literarum studiosi Germanis debeant nullo satis dicendi genere exprimi potest. Namque a Joanne Gutenberg zum Jungen Equite Moguntiæ Rheni Solerti ingenis librorum imprimendorum ratio an. 1440, inventa hoc tempore in omnes fere orbis partes propagatur, qua omnis antiquitas parvo ære comparata posterioribus infiniti voluminibus legitur." As I have not the means of consulting the original, the reader will take this quotation from Palmieri upon the authority of *Malinkrot de ortu et Progressu Artis Typog.*

Daunou says the words *Maguntiæ Rheni* are so disposed in the original text, that they signify indifferently either that Gutenberg was of Mentz, or that he invented the art there.

Henry Wirtzburg de Vach, the continuator of the *Fasciculus Temporum*[1] by Werner Rolewinck, attributes the invention to Mentz, but is silent in regard to the name of the inventor. The venerable father of English Typography made use of the Fasciculus Temporum to aid him in his continuation of Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon, and copies the account of the invention, which he attributes without scruple to Mentz. Under the year 1455 he says, "About this time the crafte of emprynting was first found at Mogounce in Almayne."

As Caxton was abroad for thirty years, that is from 1441 to 1471, and must have been particularly desirous of obtaining correct information on the subject of an invention which he was seeking to learn, with a view to the introduction of it into England at his return, it is surely not too much to affirm that he could not possibly be ignorant of the place where the art was first exercised. This testimony of Caxton's is the more valuable, as it is known that he learned and first practised the art in the Low Countries; his residence, according to his own account, was for the most part in Holland, Zealand, and Flanders: had the typographic art taken its rise at Harlem, it is surely too evident that it could not possibly have been unknown to him, and had he known it, he would not have failed to record it.

[1] The first edition of the *Fasciculus Temporum* was printed at Cologne in 1474, by Therhoernen; another edition was printed by Veldener at Louvain, 1476; and a Flemish Translation in 1480, by the same printer. Mr. Dibdin, in his *Typographical Antiquities, Vol. i. p.* 149, *note*, says there is a Dutch translation of this last date: if this is the case, it would be almost conclusive evidence in favour of Mentz, if it should also be found to attribute the invention to that city. The passage is as follows in the Latin text:— "Librorum impressionis scientia subtilissima omnibus seculis inaudita circa hæc tempora reperitur in Maguntina. Hæc est ars artium, scientia scientiarum, per cujus celeritatis exercitationem thesaurus desiderabilis sapientiæ et scientiæ, quem omnes homines per instinctum naturæ desiderunt," &c.

Jacopo di Bergamo in his *Supplementum Chronicaram*, first printed at Venice in 1483, under the year 1458, has a vague account of the invention, and names Gutenburg, Fust, and *Jenson*, as the inventors in the opinion of different authorities; but he decidedly gives it to Germany.[1]

Donato Bosio, in his Chronicle printed at Milan by Zarotus in 1492, under the year 1457, attributes the invention to Gutenburg alone.[2]

Sabellico, in his *Enneades*, or Rhapsody on Universal History, Venice, 1498,[3] has also called Gutenburg the inventor, as does Fulgosio in his *Dictorum et Factorum Memorabilia*, first written in Italian about 1483, but published only in a Latin translation in 1508.

Polydore Vergil, in his book *de Inventoribus Rerum*, the first edition of which was printed in 1499, says that a German, named *Peter*, invented printing; but in a subsequent edition he corrects his error, and substitutes the name of John Gutenburg.[5]

[1] "Ars imprimendi Libros his temporibus in Germania primum enata est, quam alii repertam asserunt a Guttenbergo Argentino, alii a quodam alio, nomine Fusto, alii a Nicolao Jenson prædicant, &c. This passage is cited by Scriverius, (from the Brescia edition of 1485, of the *Supplementum Cronicarum*,) from whose citation I transcribe.

[2] "Hoc anno (i. e. 1457,) salutifera doctrinarum omnium imprimendorum librorum ars, authore Joanne Gutembergio, Germano reperta est."

[3] "Per idem tempus libraria impressio apud Italos vulgari cœpta est, res sane memorabilis, nec minore admiratione digna, sed multo admirabilior futura, si non adeo vulgari contigisset; mirum et vix credibile dictu, sed verius vero, tantum literarum uno die opificem unum formare, quantum vix biennis velocissimus queat librarius. Commentum id Theutonicum, fuitque ab initio in multa, ut debuit, admiratione nec minore quæstu. Pulcherrimi inventi autor Joannes Gutembergius, equestri vir dignitate, Maguntiaque res primum tentata est majore quidem fiducia, quam spe, annis circiter sexdecim, prius quam in Italia res cœpta sit vulgari, &c." *Enneadis X. lib. vi.*

[4] De Joanne Gutenbergio Argentinensi; omnem mechanicæ artis effectum, non recentis modo, verum etiam antiquæ, illud superavit, quod scribendo Guttenburgius Argentinensis ostendit, primum a se inventa imprimendarum literarum scientia. Nam non solum uno die imprimendo plura scribere, quam uno anno calamis docuit. *Dict. et Fact. Memorabilia. Lib. VII. cap. xi.*

[5] "Itaque Joannes Gutenburgius natione Teutonicus equestri vir dignitate, ut ab ejus civibus accepimus, primus omnium in oppido Germaniæ, quam Moguntiam

But perhaps of all the printed accounts of the discovery of the typographic art which the fifteenth century affords, none is more curious, or so important, as that afforded by the Cologne Chronicle. We have already had occasion to recur to this very interesting document, and shall now lay before the reader those passages which relate to this subject,[1] referring him to the note below for an extract in the original language, given upon the faith of Scriverius. "Item, this most revered art was first discovered at Mentz on the Rhine in Germany; and it is a great honour to the German nation, that such ingenious men were found in it. This happened in the year of our Lord MCCCCXL; and from that time until the year MCCCCL, the art, and what pertains thereto, was rendered more perfect. In the year of our Lord MCCCCL, which was a golden year, then men began to print, and the first book printed was the Bible in Latin, and it was printed in a larger character than that with which men now print Mass-Books. Item, although this art was first invented at Mentz,

vocant, hanc imprimendarum literarum artem excogitavit, primumque ibi ea exerceri cœpit; non minore industria reperto ab eodem, prout ferunt, auctore, novo atramenti genere, quo nunc literarum impressores tantum utuntur." &c. *De Inventoribus Rerum. Lib. II. cap. vii.*

[1] "Item dese hoicwurdige Kunst vurss is vonden aller eyrst in Duytschlant tzo Mentz am Rijne. Ind dat is d'duytscher nacion eyn groisse eirlicheit, dat sulche synrjiche mynschen syn dae tzo vynden. Ind dat is geschiet by den iairen vns heren anno dñi MCCCCXL. ind van der zijt an bis men schreue L. wart udersoicht die Kunst ind wal dair zogehoirt. Ind in den iairen vns heren do men Schreyff MCCCCL. do was eyn gulden iair, do began men tzo drucken, ind was dat eyrst boich dat men druckde die Bybel zo latijn, ind wart gedruckt myt eynre grouer schrifft as is die schrifft, dae men nu Mysseboicher mit druckt. Item wie wail die Kunst is vonden tzo Mentz, als vurss up die wijse, als dan nu gemeynlich gebruicht wirt, so is doch die eyrst vurbyldung vonden in Hollant vyss den Donaten, die daeselffst vur der tzijt gedruckt syn. Ind van ind vyss den is genommen dat begynne der vurss Kunst. ind is vill meysterlicher ind subtilicher vonden dan dieselue manier was, vnd ye lenger ye mere Kunstlicher wurden."——"Mer der eyrste vinder der druckerye is gewest eyn Burger tzo Mentz. ind was geboren van Straissburch. ind hiesch joncker Johan Gudenburch. Item van Mentz is die vurss kunst. komen alre eyrst tzo Coellen. Dairnae tzo Straisburch, ind dairnae tzo Venedige. Dat begynne ind vortganck der vurs kunst hait myr muntlich vertzelt d'Eirsame man Meyster Vlrich Tzell van Hanauwe boichdrucker zo Coellen noch zertzijt anno MCCCCXCIV. durch den die kunst. vurs is zo Coellen kommen."

in the mode which is now commonly practised, yet the first idea is found in Holland, in the Donatuses which were before printed there, And from thence is taken the beginning of this art, and it is a more masterly and subtler discovery than this same ancient manner was, and it became at length still more complete."

After correcting *Omnibonus Leonicenus*, for calling Jenson the inventor of printing, the chronicler proceeds thus: "The first inventor of printing was a citizen of Mentz, and was born at Strasburg, and was called John Gudenburch. Item, from Mentz the art before-mentioned first came to Cologne, from thence to Strasburg, and from thence to Venice. The beginning and progress of the before-mentioned art was told me, by word of mouth, by the worthy man, Master Ulrich Tzell of Hanault, printer at Cologne in the present year MCCCCXCIX. by whom the forementioned art is come to Cologne, &c." Mr. Dibdin, whose authority upon this subject is the weightiest that could be possibly adduced, says, "There is good reason to believe the *chief facts* relating to the origin and progress of the art of printing *(in this relation)* to be correct;"[1] and concludes by saying that "the evidence of Ulric Zell appears to be as honest as it is curious." It appears to us that this *viva-voce* testimony of a cotemporary witness places the matter beyond doubt. We have already sufficiently observed upon the passage wherein mention is made of the idea of the art being derived from the Donatuses executed in Holland.

Trithemius, who was born in 1462, and died in 1516, mentions the invention of the art of printing in several of his works; but the most important and the most detailed account is that which is found in his *Annales Monasterii Hirsaugensis*, under the year 1440. We should have made his testimony precede those already cited, but that his work was not printed until the latter part of the seventeenth century. His testimony is as follows:[2]

[1] Bibl. Spencer. Vol. iii. p. 283-4.

[2] *Trithemii Annales Monasterii Hirsaugensis, fol. p.* 109. *typis Monast. St. Galli,* 1690.—"His temporibus in civitate Moguntina Germaniæ prope Rhenum, et non in Italia, ut quidem falso scripserunt, inventa

"At this time, in the city of Mentz on the Rhine in Germany, and not in Italy, as some have erroneously written, that wonderful and then unheard of art of printing and characterizing books was invented and devised by John Gutenberger, a citizen of Mentz, who having expended almost the whole of his property in the invention of this art, and on account of the difficulties which he experienced on all sides, was about to abandon it altogether; when by the advice and through the means of John Fust, likewise a citizen of Mentz, he succeeded in bringing it to perfection. At first they formed (i. e. *engraved*) the characters or letters in written order on blocks of wood, and in this manner they printed the Vocabulary called a *Catholicon*. But with these forms (or blocks) they could print nothing else, because the characters could not be transposed in these tablets, but were engraved thereon, as we have said. To this invention succeeded a more subtle one, for they found out the means of casting the forms of all the letters of the alphabet, which they called

et excogitata est ars illa mirabilis et prius inaudita imprimendi et characterizandi libros per Joannem Guttenberger, civem Moguntinum, qui cum omnem pene substantiam suam pro inventione hujus artis exposuisset, et nimia difficultate laborans, jam in isto, jam in alio deficeret, jamque prope esset, ut desperatus negotium intermitteret, consilio tandem et impensis Joannis Fust, æquo civis Moguntini, rem perfecit incœptam. In primis igitur characteribus litterarum in tabulis ligneis per ordinem scriptis, formisque compositis, Vocabularium, Catholicon nuncupatum, impresserunt, sed cum iisdem formis nihil aliud potuerunt imprimere, eo quod characteres non fuerunt amovibiles de tabulis, sed insculpti, sicut diximus. Post hæc inventis successerunt subtiliora, inveneruntque modum fundendi formas omnium latine alphabeti literarum, quas ipsi matrices nominabant, ex quibus rursum æneos sive stanneos characteres fundebant, ad omnem pressuram sufficientes, quo prius manibus sculpebant. Et revera sicuti ante 30 ferme annos ex ore Petri Opilionis de Gernsheim, civis Moguntini, qui gener erat primi artis inventoris, audivi magnam à primo inventionis suæ tempore hæc ars impressoria habuit difficultatem. Impressuri namque Biblia, priusquam tertium complesseret in opere quaternionem, plusquam 4000 florenorum exposuerunt. Petrus autem memoratus Opilio, tunc famulus, postea gener, sicut diximus inventoris primi, Joannis Fust, homo ingeniosus & prudens faciliorem modum fundendi characteres excogitavit, & artem ut nunc est, complevit. Et hi tres imprimendi modum aliquandiu tenuerunt occultum, quousque per famulos sine quorum ministerio artem ipsam exercere non poterant, divulgatus fuit, in Argentinenses primo, & paulatim in omnes nationes."

matrices, from which again they cast characters of copper or tin of sufficient hardness to resist the necessary pressure, which they had before engraved by hand. And truly, as I learned thirty years since from Peter Opilio (Schoeffer) de Gernsheim, citizen of Mentz, who was the son in law of the first inventor of this art, great difficulties were experienced after the first invention of this art of printing, for in printing the Bible, before they had completed the third *quaternion* (or gathering of four sheets) 4000 florins were expended. This Peter Schoeffer, whom we have above mentioned, first servant and afterward son-in-law to the first inventor John Fust, as we have said, an ingenious and sagacious man, discovered the more easy method of casting the types, and thus the art was reduced to the complete state in which it now is. These three kept this method of printing secret for some time, until it was divulged by some of their workmen, without whose aid this art could not have been exercised: it was first developed at Strasbourg, and soon became known to other nations. And thus much of the admirable and subtle art of printing may suffice—the first inventors were citizens of Mentz. These three first inventors of printing (videlicet) John Gutenberger, John Fust, and Peter Schoeffer his son-in-law, lived at Mentz, in the house called Zum Jungen, which has ever since been called the Printing Office."

There is some obscurity in this account of Trithemius, particularly in the passage which relates to the first process by which types were cast, and Meerman, who was an advocate for sculpto-fusile types, or types of which the body was cast and the letter engraved, supposes it to mean that this mode was first practised by Fust and Gutenburg; this, however, is not a matter of much importance; it is sufficiently clear in what is of more consequence, it fixes the merit of the invention of typography upon Gutenburg and Fust, the perfection of moveable types it gives to Schoeffer, from whom the information was derived; this is direct, and conclusive cotemporary evidence. Trithemius completed his Annals in 1514, and, as he says, he had the information from Schoeffer about thirty years

before; this brings us back to 1484, when Schoeffer, though advanced in years, was still living, and Trithemius himself, who died in 1516, was about twenty-two years old. The *Annales Monasterii Hirsaugensis* were not printed until the year 1690, when they issued from the press of the monastery of St. Gall. But it is somewhat remarkable that in the colophon appended to another work of the same writer, the son and successor of Peter Schoeffer has left his evidence, which though it differs from the above relation, affords some additional particulars, which render it a highly valuable document; the book is, "*Trithemii Chronicon de Origine Regum & Gentis Francorum*," and the very curious colophon will be found accurately copied in the note.[1] It is evidently a partial account, and the name of Gutenburg is studiously omitted, at the same time that Fust is said to have been the first inventor, and is called "*artis primarii autoris.*"

In this brief Sketch it becomes necessary that we should confine ourselves to the most important evidence alone; we shall therefore pass over the host of writers at the commencement of the sixteenth century,[2] whose testimony is in favour of Mentz, for the greater number of them had no other foundation for their vague

[1] Impressum & completum est præsens chronicarum opus anno Domini MDXV. in vigilia Margaretæ virginis, in nobili famosaque urbe Moguntina, cujus artis impressoriæ inventrice prima per *Johannem Schœffer* nepotem quondam honesti viri Johannis Fusth, civis Moguntini, memoratæ artis primarii auctoris. Qui tandem imprimendi artem proprio genio excogitare specularique cœpit anno Dominicæ nativitatis MCCCCL. indictione XIII. regnante illustrissimo Romanor. Imperatore *Frederico III.* præsidente sanctæ Moguntinæ sedi Reverendissimi in Christo Patre, Domino *Theodorico*, Pincerna de *Erbach* Principe Electore. Anno autem MCCCCLII. perfecit deduxitque eam (divina favente gratia) in opus imprimendi, opera tamen & multis necessariis adinventionibus Petri Schöfferi de Gernsheim ministri suique filii adoptivi, cui etiam filiam suam Christinam Fusthen pro digna laborum multarumque adinventionum remuneratione nuptui dedit. Retinuerunt autem hi duo jam prænominati Joannes Fusthen & Petrus Schöffer hanc artem in secreto (omnibus ministris ac familiaribus eorum, ne illam quoque modo manifestarent jurejurando adstrictis) quoad tandem anno Domini MCCCCLXII. per eosdem familiares in diversas terrarum provincias divulgata haud parvum sumpsit incrementum."

[2] Heinecken says, "On pourra former une Bibliothéque entiére de tous les livres imprimés en Europe jusqu'en 1560 qui parlent de l'invention de la typographie par Gutenberg, par Faust & par Schoeffer." *Idée &c. p. 279, in Note.*

accounts than the evidence afforded by the Colophons of the first printed books, occasionally assisted by tradition. We may however just mention that Wimpheling,[1] who died in 1508, says, that John Gutenburg, after having invented printing at Strasburg in 1440, went to Mentz, and there perfected the art, leaving John Mentelin at Strasburg engaged in the prosecution of the same object. Sebastian Munster,[2] in the earlier editions of his Cosmography, gives the invention to Gutenburg alone, but in the later editions he associates with him John Fust and John Meydenbach. This is the sole authority for making Meydenbach a coadjutor of Gutenburg, and it must be confessed that it is doubtful evidence. If he really was an associate of the first Mentz printers, it is most probable that his department was that of *Formschneider*, or engraver on wood. A very curious volume executed by him, or one of his name, at Mentz in 1491, now lies before us; it is entitled *Ortus Sanitatis*, and comprises five divisions, or treatises, viz. *de Herbis*, *de Animalibus*, *de Avibus*, *de Piscibus & de Lapidibus;* it is replete with rude wood cuts of plants, animals, &c. in many of which the human figure is introduced: they may be compared in point of style to the cuts in the "*Apocalypse*," and the "*Ars Moriendi*." To this work is appended an unusually long colophon, part of which will be found in a note beneath.[3] It may be remarked that he calls himself *Jacobus impres-*

[1] Anno Christi 1440. Friderico III. Romanorum Imp. regnante, magnum quoddam, ac pene divinum beneficium, collatum est universo terrarum orbi, a Johanne Gutenburg (ex ordine equestri) Argentinensi, novo scribendi genere reperto. Is enim primus impressoriam artem, quam Latiniores excusoriam vocant, in urbe Argentinensi invenit inde Moguntiam veniens eandem feliciter complevit. *Rer. Germanicar. cap.* 65.

[2] "Ab anno 1440 usque ad 1450 nobilis imprimendi ars Moguntiæ reperta est, ea Moguntia Coloniam, deinde Argentinam & Basileam atque postea Venetias delata est. Primus ejus auctor & inventor Joannes Gutenbergius, qui *zum jungen* dicebatur, isque cives alios duos Moguntinos adjutores habuit Joannem Faustum & Joannem Medenbachium, qui artem hanc in secreto tenuerunt, famulis de ea non propalanda jurejurando constrictis. *Cosmographia, lib. III. cap.* 180. Basil, 1559. fol.

[3] —— omnia hec in hoc orto sanitatis hoc est pñti opere seu libro plenū reperies. Quem quidem librum omni diligētia collectum & elaboratum. intelligibili caractere propriis impensis Jacobus meydenbach ciuis Moguntinus luculētissime impressit.

sor, and in speaking of the invention of printing at Mentz makes no mention of having assisted or taken any part in the perfection of the art. We should rather conjecture, notwithstanding Meydenbach calls himself *Impressor*, that he had exercised the art of a *Formschneider* or engraver on wood: the whole of the cuts in this book were intended to be illuminated, as the colophon clearly points out, but in the copy before us only a portion of them are rudely coloured.

It may further be remarked, that Fust and Schoeffer, in the subscriptions to the books printed by them, lay no claim to the *invention*, but only to the *perfection* of the art. While the subscription to the *Catholicon*, which is universally admitted to have been executed by Gutenberg, is also silent on this head; but the modest formula in which he has pointed out the novelty of the means by which it was produced, attributing the honour to his country, and the glory to God, has something in it of an eloquent sublimity, which fills us with admiration of his character.

To resume in a few words; the most probable origin and progress of the art may be thus deduced; tabular or block printing, applied to the multiplication of figures of Saints, and playing cards, appears to have been the first step, which, it is possible, may have been derived from the East. Inscriptions under and upon these objects of devotion, and subsequently a collection of these in the form of a book, followed; from thence was elicited the idea of multiplying the Donatuses, or elementary books for children in the same manner. These and the books of devotional figures, may have been first produced in Holland, according to the testimony of *Ulric Zell*. Previous to 1440 Gutenburg had conceived at Strasburg the idea of

sūmāq; adhibuit dīligentiam. operāq; maximā vt singule herbe ac singuli flores. suos naturales colores. ac aniālia ipsa. volucres. pisces deniq; & alia in hoc preclarissimo ope descripta. suas sicuti eas natura produxit haberēt effigies & figuras. Hoc modo lectitanti prodesse ac intuentem oblectare impressor ipse Jacobus voluit.

Impressum est autem hoc ipm̄ in inclita ciuitate Moguntina. que ab antiquis aurea Moguntia dicta. ac a magis id est sapientibus vt fertur primitus fundata. in qua nobilissima ciuitate & ars ac scientia hec subtilissima caracterizandi seu imprimendi fuit primū inuenta." &c.

printing with moveable types, and it is most likely his first essays were with engraved wooden characters, to which he subsequently may have substituted *engraved* characters of metal; to these succeeded, probably after his removal to Mentz, cast metal types produced from moulds in an imperfect manner, compared with that which was subsequently invented by Schoeffer, and to which he lays claim. These it is true are not positive facts, but deductions from existing evidence much more probable than the conjectural and incongruous traditions in favour of other persons, and other countries. Such at least are the impressions made upon our minds by an attentive perusal of all that has been written upon the subject, and confirmed by examination of the most important monuments of early typography which have come down to us; such also we trust will be the impression upon the minds of our readers, if we have been sufficiently explicit; but as the subject is only incidental, we have been constrained to omit much which might have been urged, in further confirmation of the claims of Gutenburg to be considered the INVENTOR OF PRINTING.

To return to the art of engraving on wood, and the earliest existing specimens of it.—Although we have given credit to Papillon's account of the Cunio family and their work, this at present remains an insulated instance of the exercise of the art at so early a period; and it is still a desideratum that some discovery may bring us acquainted with other xylographic productions of Italian artists, which may connect this solitary instance with the next century.

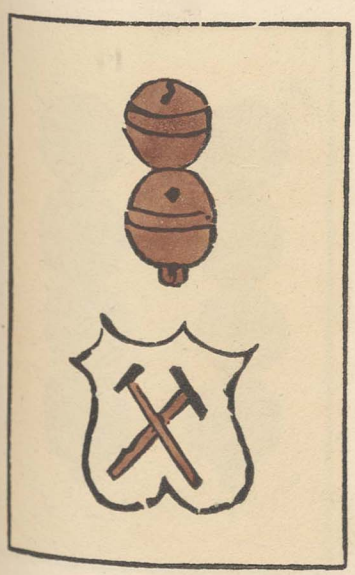
Indeed, with regard to existing specimens, the Germans must be confessed to possess better evidence of the early exercise of the art than the Italians have hitherto produced, for we must still consider the wood cuts of St. Christopher, and the Annunciation, as productions of German artists, until we have more certain proof of their having been produced in Italy than what is afforded by the style of design. Besides that the great number of early dateless specimens, which are indisputably productions of Germany, afforded by the curious collection of Bekker before cited, would be suf-

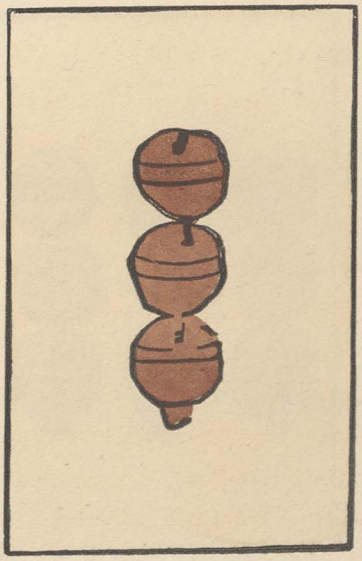
ficient to shew that the Germans were more assiduous in the practice and cultivation of this art than their neighbours, who have few if any specimens of the same kind to oppose to them.

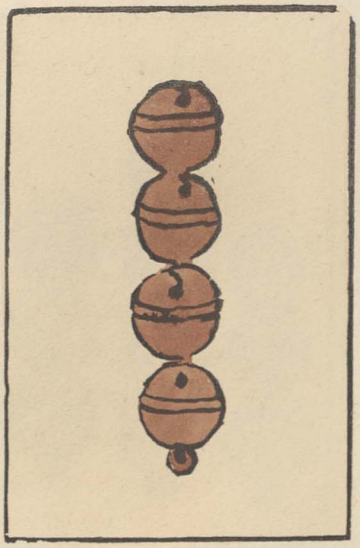
One of the most curious, and to us one of the most important, specimens of early German xylography, is the very curious pack of o cards, engraved on wood in outline in a rude manner, the whole of a which we have caused to be copied, to accompany this work: as a they have already been the subject of a Dissertation, by that emi- a nent antiquary, Mr. Gough, we shall lay before the reader his account of them.

" Dr. Stukeley exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, Nov. 9, 1763, drawings of a complete pack of cards, copied from the pasteboard cover of an old book made up of several layers of cards. These were purchased at the sale of the Doctor's coins, May 15, 1766, by Mr. Tutet, a worthy member of this Society, who bound them up in his neat and careful manner in two volumes, inserting in the first leaf of the first volume the following account of them. ' The ancient cards in this volume with others (duplicates) and the drawings in the second volume were purchased by me out of the collection of Dr. Stukeley. The drawings were produced by the Doctor November 9, 1763, to the Society of Antiquaries, observing that the cards had been given him by Thomas Rawlinson, Esq. being two pieces of the cover of an old book supposed to be Claudian, printed before 1500, and that there was a leaf or two of Erasmus's Adages pasted between the layers of the cards, which being laid s *stratum super stratum*, composed two pasteboards, and made the cover of the book. The Doctor took the pains to separate the cards, out of which I have chosen a complete pack, and the better to preserve so singular a curiosity, have had it bound together with the abovementioned drawings and some French cards. It is observable in these antient cards that there are no aces nor queens, but instead of the latter are knights. On the antiquity of playing cards see *Recherches historiques sur les cartes a jouer* by Bullet, who thinks they were not invented before the latter end of the XIV century;

I.







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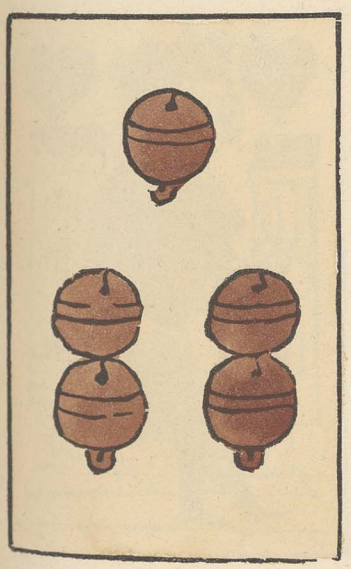

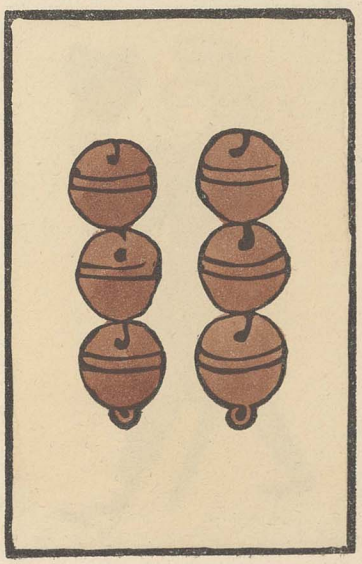

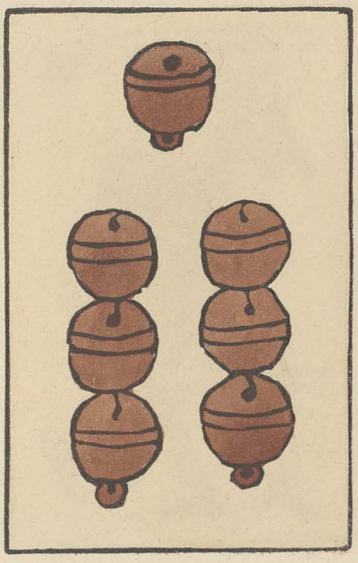

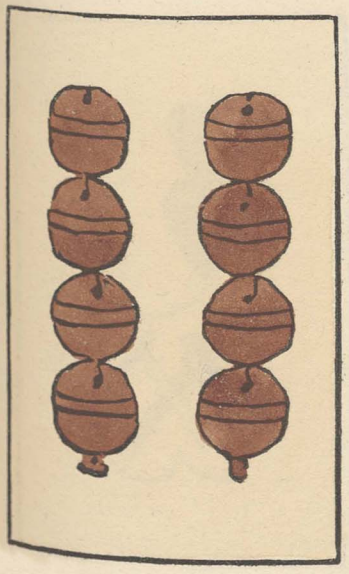

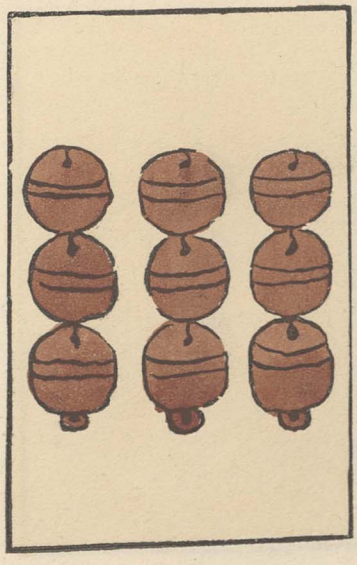

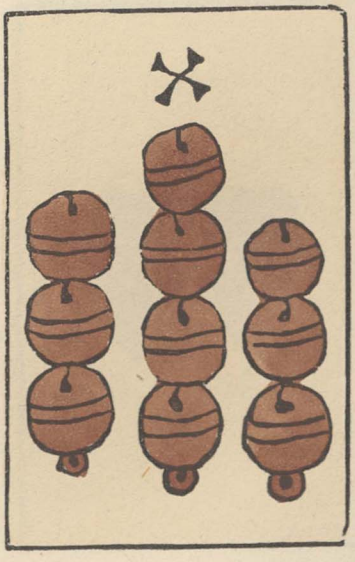

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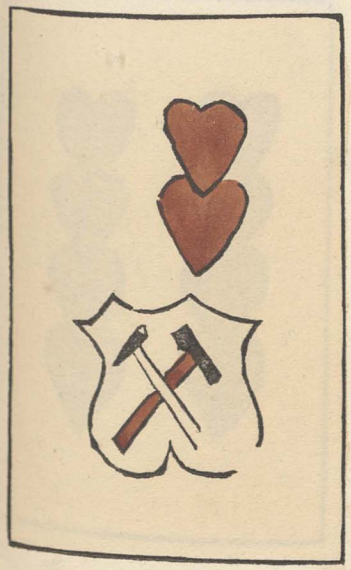

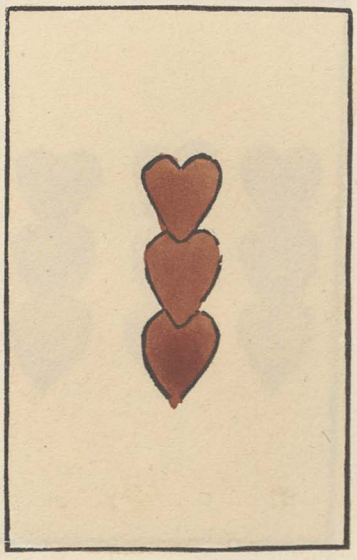

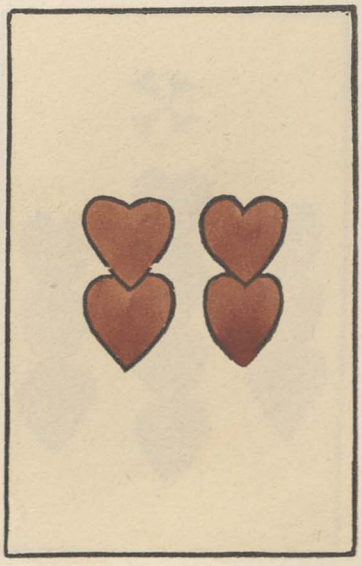

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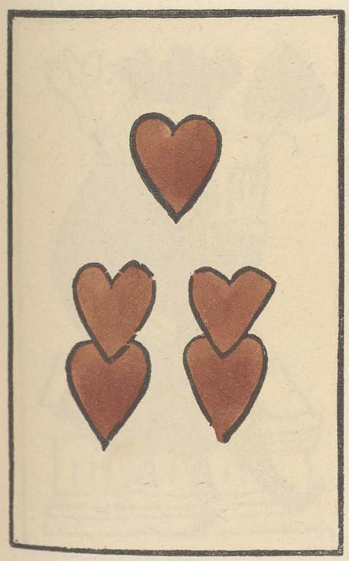

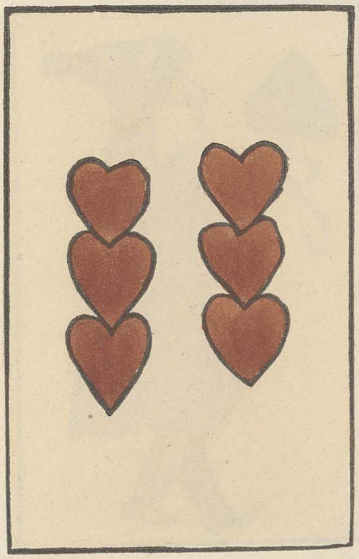

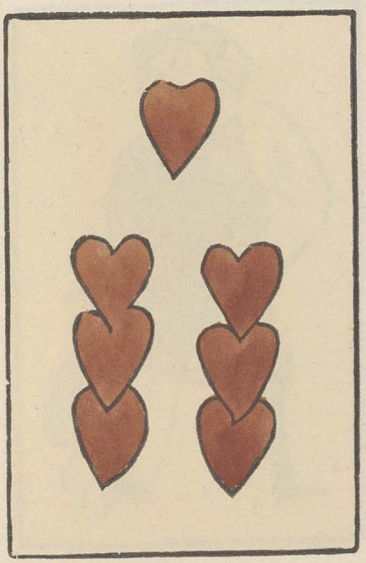

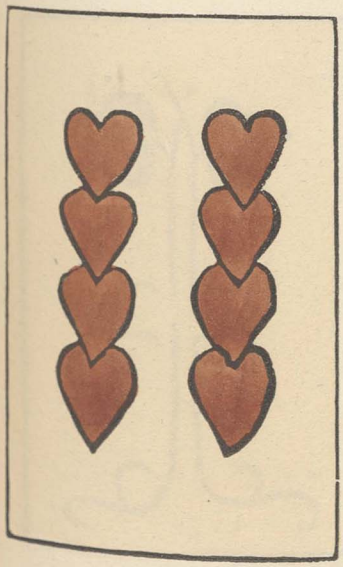

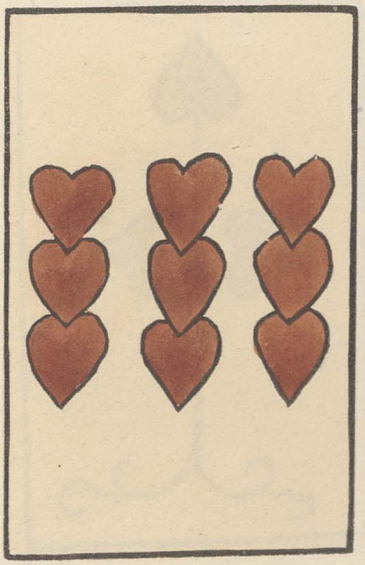

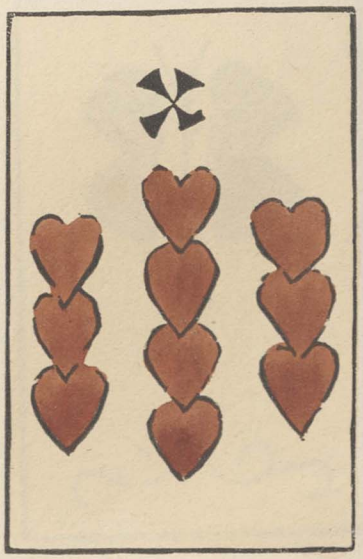

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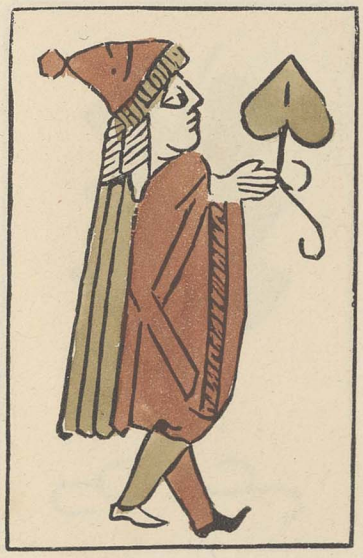

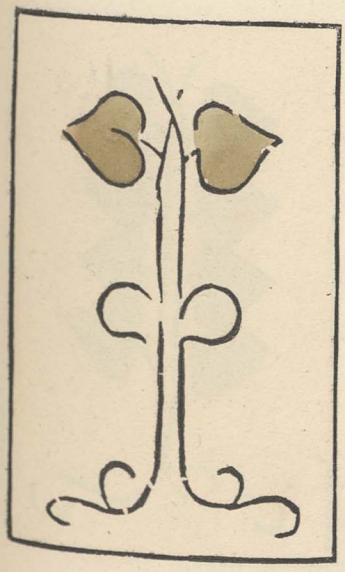

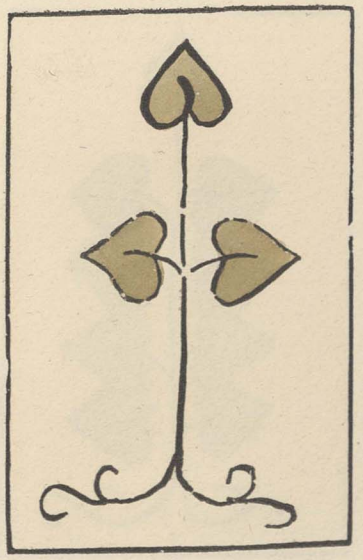

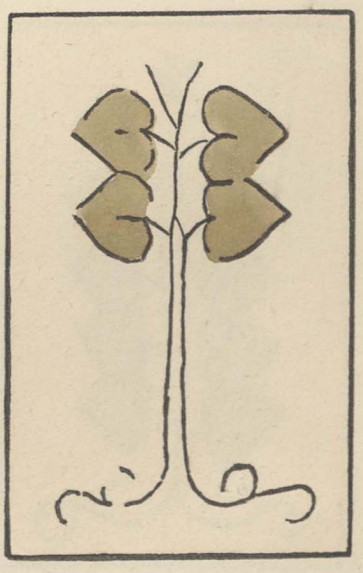

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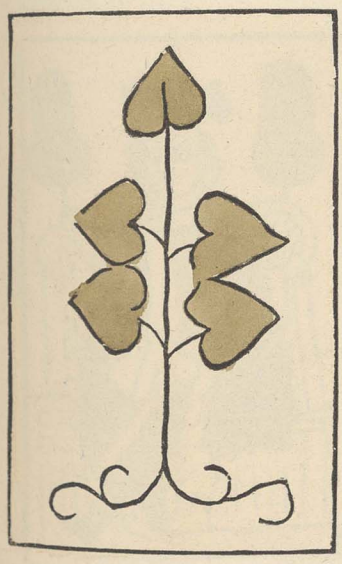

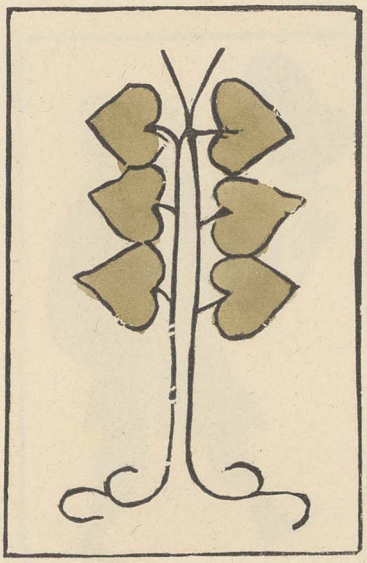

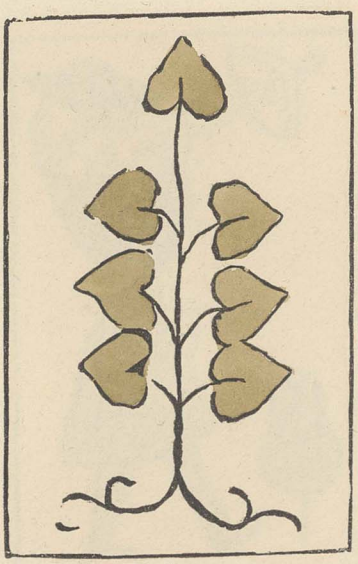

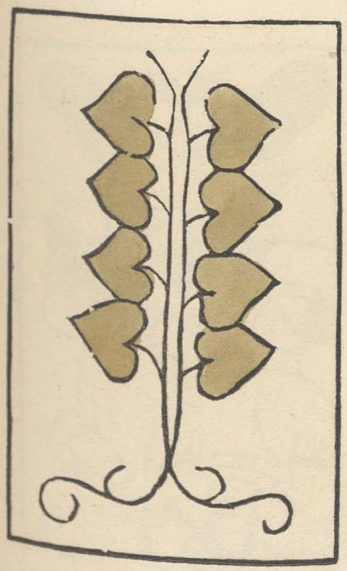

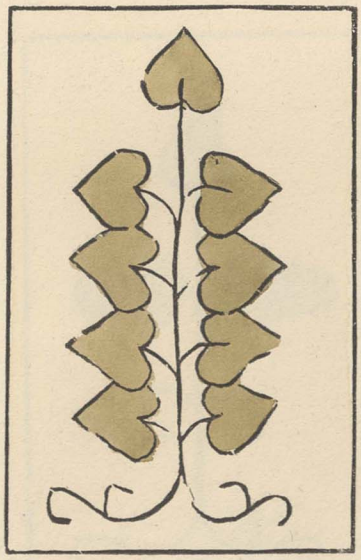

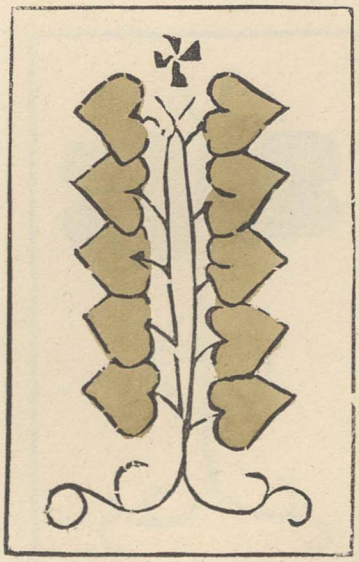

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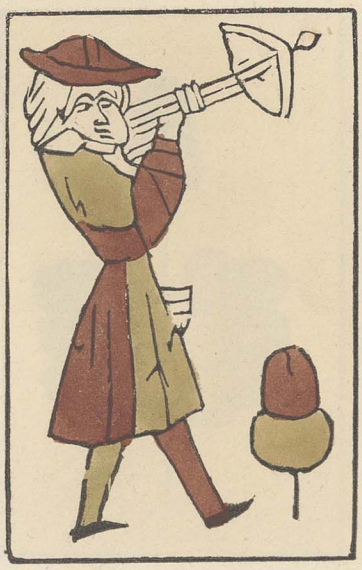
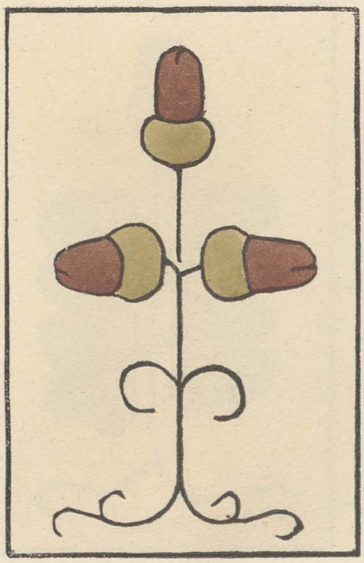
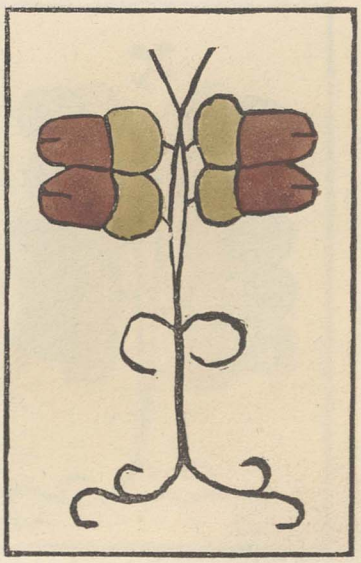
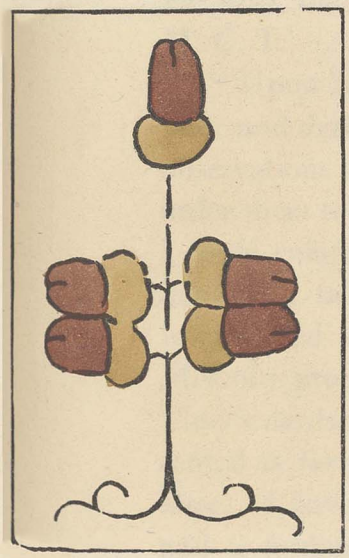
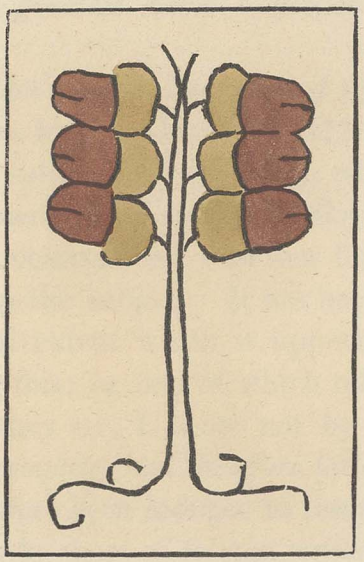
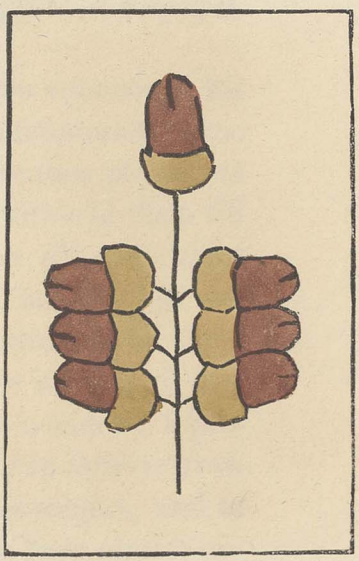


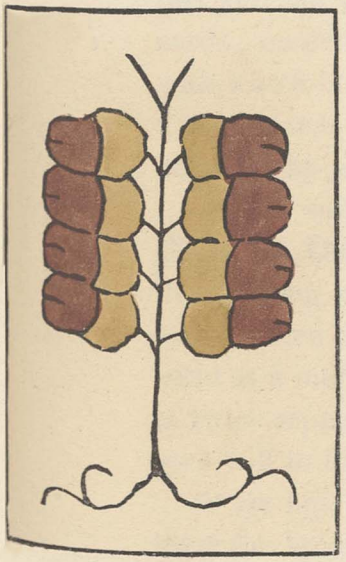


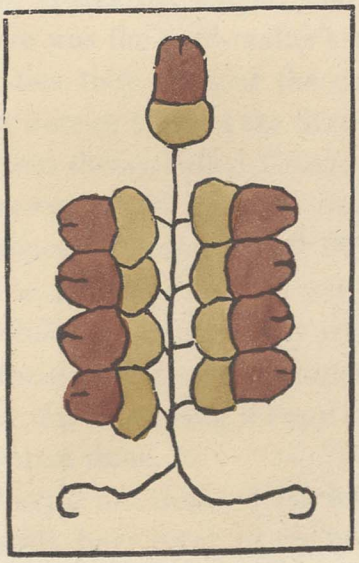


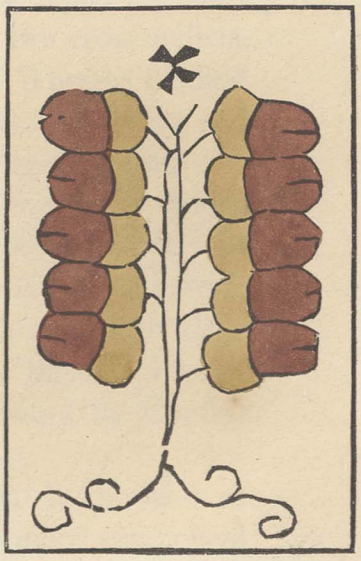












see also the *Idée generale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes.* M. C. T.'

" Upon Mr. Tutet's death I purchased these two volumes at his sale, and having so long ago as April 1775 communicated some observations on the subject to this Society, who were then pleased to order them to be inserted in their Archaeologia, I withheld them till I could enlarge my observations with new lights, or till some abler hand had taken up the subject. It has been touched on, but not investigated to that extent which it appears capable of, in three Memoirs preceding this; in one of which reference is made to Mr. Tutet's cards, and they are, I know not by what accident, represented as *far from complete, and therefore little could be inferred from them.* I have therefore been induced to resume this subject, and to add to former remarks those of foreign writers who have almost exhausted it. And this must serve as an apology for so large a detail of their ideas.

" The original cards Dr. Stukeley deemed much more antient than the French account of their invention and use among them. They consisted of four different suits as the modern ones do, but had neither ace nor queen. The king, *knight*, and knave made the court cards; on every duce was the card-maker's arms, two cross mallets, with which he supposes they *stamped* the cards. Whereas the first French cards which were in Charles the Sixth's time were drawn and coloured by hand, and thence called *Tabellæ*, or *Pagellæ pictæ.*

" The suits were composed of *bells*, *hearts*, *leaves*, and *acorns.* These the Doctor conceived represented the four several orders of men among us The bells are such as were usually tied to hawks, and denoted the Nobility, who generally rode with a hawk on their hand as a mark of their quality. In the tapestry of Bayeux, Harold is twice represented thus, carrying a copy of Edward the Confessor's will to the Norman duke.

" By hearts, he says, are denoted Ecclesiastics. In the room of these the Spanish cards have *copas* or chalices, as more symbolical of the order. The first hint of hearts seem to have been taken from

some scriptural expressions; " a heart of unbelief," " with the heart man believeth," &c. Methinks this is full as ingenious as the derivation from *chœur*, because priests are always in the choir.

" The leaves allude to the Gentry, who possess lands, manors, woods, parks, &c.

" The acorns signify the Peasants, woodmen, forresters, hunters, and farmers.

" On the duce of acorns besides the cardmakers arms is what the Doctor calls a white hart couchant. From this circumstance he infers the boasted antiquity of these cards; it being the known badge of our king Richard II. On the back of the curious picture of this prince at Wilton (one of the earliest paintings in oil-colours we are acquainted with), painted by Van Eyk, and afterwards engraved by Hollar, is the white hart couchant in the same attitude as on this card. Our cards are therefore so far from being an imitation of the French, that there seems reason to think the invention our own and of much older date.

" The knave of acorns holds a cross-bow wherewith they used to shoot deer."

" Upon this paper of Dr. Stukeley I beg leave to make some observations.

" The Doctor in supposing that cards made in the reign of Richard II. prove the " invention our own and of much older date" than that in France, forgot that Charles VI. of France, and our Richard II. were contemporaries. So that allowing cards were absolutely first invented in France to amuse the French king after he had fallen into a melancholy habit (for his disorder amounted to nothing more than incapacity for business and affairs of state, not to mischievous frenzy) which was not till about 1391 or 1392, the priority among us (if indeed such priority existed) could not have been above twelve years: for Richard's reign began 1377 and ended 1399, and between the invention of cards in France and the deposal of Richard, there was time enough to introduce this game into the

court of a dissipated luxurious young monarch, and even to improve upon the manner of making the cards.

" Most unfortunately for his conjecture the beast on the duce of acorns appears more like an *unicorn* than a hart. I have however caused it to be here copied. But admitting it to be an hart, as it will be clearly made out that these cards are *Spanish* and not *English*, it must pass for one of the *feræ naturæ* that haunt the woods of oaks." [1]

It will be evident that these cards, as they bear the German suits, have been the production of a German Cardmaker, and we are surprised that Mr. Gough should have called them *Spanish*, when in the sequel of his paper he has shewn that the Spanish cards are essentially different: from their general appearance they may claim to be considered as productions of at least an early part of the fifteenth century. They are designed rudely, and coloured with much simplicity, by means of stensil plates, as almost all the early speci-

[1] Archæologia, vol. 8. pp. 152 et seq.

cimens of this art, with which we are acquainted, also appear to have been. The edition of Claudian, from the cover of which they were taken, was dated before 1500; the binding, it should appear, was the original one, but the date of it could not have been anterior to 1500, as no edition of Erasmus's Adages was executed prior to that year.

It may be presumed that the cards of which the pasteboard was formed, are of much earlier date, for we may conclude that they were such as had been some time in use for the purpose of playing with, and were not applied to the formation of pasteboard, until they were rendered unfit for their former use, by having become soiled or worn. The covers of books have of late been a fertile source of typographical and xylographical discoveries. The attention of those who have the care and custody of old libraries has been particularly called to the examination of them,[1] and in consequence many curious fragments have been rescued from entire oblivion.

These curious cards may with safety be placed among the earliest known specimens, at least we can say that none we have seen appear to have so high a claim to precedence; they are just what it might have been imagined the earliest printed cards would be, rude outlines, daubed over with one or two simple colours; those used in the present instance, appear to have been red and green. The dress and character of the figured cards sufficiently demonstrate that they are a production of the fifteenth century; it is not impossible that they may belong to the earlier part of it. Heinecken[2] found in the library of the Stadt House at Ulm, an old manuscript chronicle of that city, finished in 1474, under the rubric of which was written the following memorandum. "Playing cards were sent in large bales into Italy, Sicily, and other parts, by sea, getting in exchange spices and other merchandize. By this it may be seen how numerous the Cardmakers and Painters dwelling here must have been."

[1] By the learned Oberlin, in a letter published in the *Magazin Encyclopedique* for 1803, tom. vii. p. 16.

[2] Heinecken, Idée Générale, p. 244.

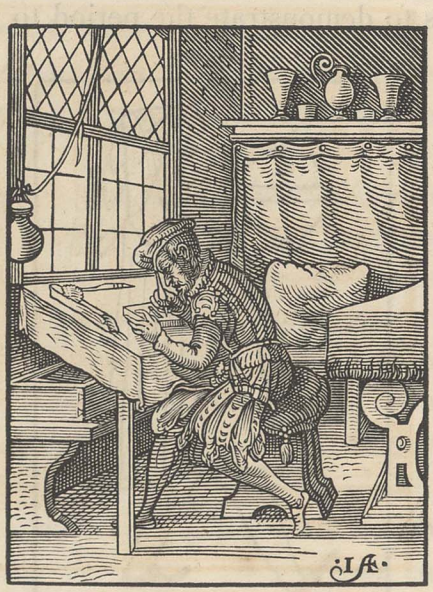
The eye accustomed to examine the xylographic productions of the fifteenth century, will readily find sufficient proof in the appearance of these cards to demonstrate the period to which they belong.

The complete pack consists of forty-eight, nine numerical cards, and King, Knave, Knight, in each suit, the aces being omitted. It may be as well here to observe, that the cap and dress of the Knave in the above card bears a strong resemblance to that of Abner in the 18th cut of the *Speculum*.

In Germany the workmen employed to cut or engrave blocks for purposes of impression, were called *Formschneiders*, and were distinguished as a kind of corporation or body to themselves, and in the very spirited Book of Trades,[1] engraved on wood from the

[1] The first edition appears to have been published at Frankfort in 1564, 4to. with German verses beneath each cut; and another edition with descriptions in Latin verse by Hartman Schopper appeared in the year 1568, in 12mo. under the title of ΠΑΝΟΠΑΙΑ *Omnium illiberalium mechanicarum aut sedentariarum artium genera continens, &c.* Jost Ammon was born at Zuric in 1539; his engravings on wood are very numerous, living at a time when it was the fashion to decorate almost every book with wood cuts; he was much employed by the booksellers, particularly by Feyrabend at Frankfort on the Main: we shall shortly have occasion to present the

designs of Jost Ammon, we have the following interesting representation of this artist.

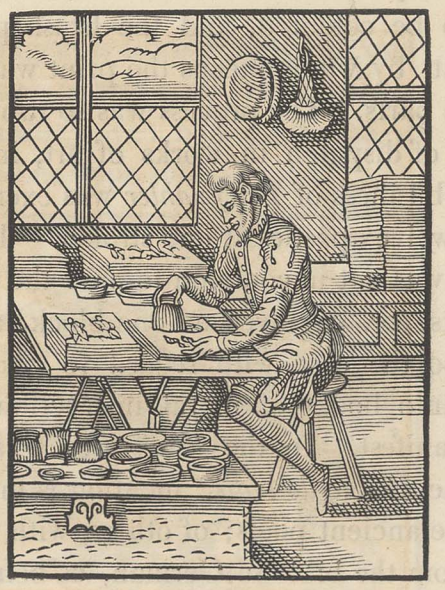


The number, the perfection, and beauty of the productions of the xylographic art throughout the whole course of the sixteenth century, sufficiently mark the esteem in which it was held. The same curious and beautiful little volume also affords us a representation of the *Briefmahler* or *painter* of cards and images, which does not possess less interest than that of the wood cutter; and here we have direct proof of the means used to colour cards and wood cuts: the artist is using a stensil plate and broad flat brush, by which means his operation was much shortened. Several pots of colour,

reader with some beautiful specimens of a pack of cards executed by him. Ammon died at Nuremburg in 1591, his portrait is in Fuessli's Lives of the Painters. It has been said, and with some degree of probability, that the representation of the *Formschneider* above is the portrait of the artist himself. Under it are the following verses.

Eximias Regum species hominumque Deumque
Omnia Phidiaca corpora sculpo manu.
Denique Pictoriis quicquid manus æmula ducit,
Id digiti possunt arte polire mei.
Effigies Regum ligno servata vel ære,
Innumeros vivit post sua fata dies.
Dives & æternis par illa deabus habetur,
Quæ cælo fuerit nobilitata meo.
Nanque senescentis videt omnia secula mundi,
Vt Dominam talem charta loquatur anus.

and more brushes of the same form with that he is using, lie on the chest by his side.[1]



We will here transcribe Breitkopf's account of the process used by the *Briefmahlers*. "Their method (says he) of enlivening their wood cuts with colours, and thus imitating the original painting or drawing, was extremely simple. It was not done singly, figure by figure, and stroke by stroke, with small pencils: but the whole sheet was covered at once with colour, by means of large flat brushes. They took pasteboard, pasted the impression of their print upon it, and cut out all the parts of it which were to receive the same colour. Thus they formed as many pierced pieces of pasteboard, called *Patronen* (stensils) as there were colours in the painting or design. The colours perfected the picture, and supplied the forms of many parts which were not expressed by the lines of the wood cut." "This method of colouring prints was also effected by means of a large round stiff long-

[1] This cut is called Illuminator Imaginum. *Briefmahler*. And is accompanied by the following verses.

Effigies variis distinguo coloribus omnes,
Quas habitu pictor simpliciore dedit.
Hic me peniculus iuvat officiosus in omni
Parte, meumque vagis vestibus ornat opus.
Cuique suum tribuo quem debet habere colorem,
Materiis cultus omnibus addo suos.
Vtimur argenti, radiantis & utimur auri
Munere, cum rerum postulat ordo vices.
Omnibus his furias pictoribus imprecor omnes,
Qui bene nec pingunt, nec vigilanter agunt.

haired brush. The colour being poured on a wooden trencher, and the brush moderately filled with it; the stensil or *Patrone* was laid over the print to be coloured, and the brush passed over all the pierced parts of it, by which means the print was charged with colour in all those parts. The process was so rapid, that even now when they speak of dispatch in works of art, in Suabia and other places where the business of *Briefmahler* was exercised, they talk of painting all the twelve apostles at one stroke."[1] This expression also manifests that it was not uncommon to have the twelve apostles, or a number of saints, &c. engraved on one block, and printed on one sheet; it was also the case with regard to playing cards, which were converted into books of moral instruction, as the following instances will manifest. In the *Bibliotheca Universalis* of Conrad Gesner, under the article *de ludis*,[2] mention is made of cards with sentences from the ancient poets; of others, with French verses, and with sentences from the bible in German, as being sold by Wechel at Paris. The beautiful pack of cards, engraved by Jost Ammon, of which the succeeding pages afford specimens, is accompanied by moral distichs in Latin and German, and were published in the form of a small volume in 4to. as well as for the purpose of playing cards. Their moral intention was apparently to inculcate the advantages of Industry and Learning over Idleness and Drunkenness. The subjects are for the most part treated humourously; the four suits are books, printers balls, wine pots, and drinking cups. We shall give a brief description of the subject on each card, and proceed to present the reader with fac-similes of some of the most interesting cards of each suit, beginning with that of books, emblematical of learning, the deuce of which suit contains the following spi-

[1] *Breitkopf und Roch Ursprung der Holzshniedekunst. Th. II. p.* 161. This phrase is passed into a kind of proverb; "*Alle zwölf Apostel auf einen Strich Mahlen.*"

[2] Chartæ Lusoriæ variis in locis impresse, elegantissime aūt Parisiis apud Wechelium cum sententiis veterum poetarum: & aliæ cum rythmis Gallicis: & aliæ in Germania cum sententiis Biblicis lingua vernacula.

Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium Conradi Gesneri. Tiguri, 1548, *folio. de Grammatica Titulus XII. Art. de ludis. p.* 17.

rited representation of the ancient Bookbinder, accompanied by Latin and German verses of H. S. de Gustrou.[1]

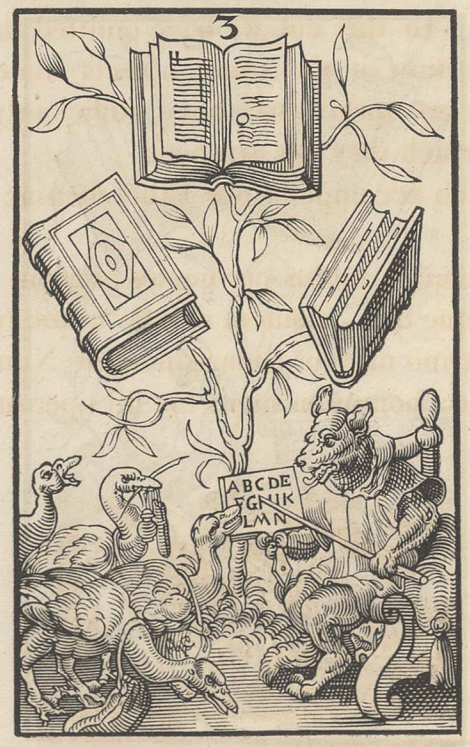
Dum compingendis libris Phœbeiam iuto
Castra, sacri merito pars Heliconis ero
Parvula fastidire cave: nam gratia magna
Exiguis rebus sæpe subesse solet.

Weil ich dien den kunsten frey
Mit Bucher binden mancherley,
Hoff ich man werd mich schatzen gleich
Ein Gliedlein in dess Phoebi Reich,
Hut dich, veracht nicht schlechtes ding,
Schaw vor was es für nutzung bring.

[1] De Murr, in his "*Bibliotheque de Peinture, de Sculpture, et de Gravure, Francfort*, 1770, 12*mo*. *V*. 2. *p*. 470, mentions them among the works of Jost Ammon thus, "*Charta Lusoria tetrastichis illustrata per Janum Heinricum Scroterum de Gustrou Noribergæ*, 1588, 4*to*." It seems however probable that they had

The *Trey* of Books exhibits the following whimsical and humourous representation of the wolf turned schoolmaster.

Quanta cuculligero pietas Lupo, amorque fidelis,
Anseris in sobolem sit, tabula ista docet.
Dii tibi flammam anima firment, Lupe, relligionis
Ni titulo, simulans mella, venena paras.



Wie trewlich es der Wolff thut meinen
Mit disen Gansen gross vnd kleinen,
Dasselb leichtlich ein jederman,
Auss diser Figur mercken kan,
Ich wünsch dir zwar zu solchen dingen
Glück, lieber Wolff, Hör aber singen,
Dass du vnter der Gotts forcht schein,
Verführst die armen Ganselein.

been some time used as playing cards before they were thus collected together in a volume, and accompanied by metrical inscriptions, and Sigismund Feyrabend's name occurs in the German verses under the ace of printers balls, so that he was most probably the publisher. It has been already mentioned that Jost Ammon was principally employed in decorating books printed by him.

The *four* is a representation of a Bibliomaniac at his desk: this subject, taken from the *Navis Stultifera* of Sebastian Brandt, is already familiar to the reader, having been introduced to his notice in Mr. Dibdin's Bibliomania. He will not however object to being furnished with another portrait of this "first foole of all the whole navie." The Poetical expositor has not clearly understood what the following cut was intended for, his verses only refer to the vanity of particular studies. In this cut we have omitted the upper part, as it is a mere repetition of the same objects somewhat differently grouped, and the two specimens above, sufficiently shew the ingenious manner in which they are arranged.

The verses which accompany our Bibliomaniac are as follows.

Sicne animi dubius per noctes plurima volvens
Perque dies, mentem dividis usque tuam
Dum trino unitum rimaris nomine Numen?
Cede: hominum mens hic nil operosa valet.

Damit du mügst auss gründen frey
Was Gotts anfang, thun, wesen sey,
Mit vilen grillen, sorg vnd klag.
Plagst du dein hertz beyd nacht vnd tag,
Lass ab, hie ist dein witz vnd kunst,
Hie ist all dein vernunfft vmb sunst.

The *five* of books represents a ludicrous but somewhat indelicate subject: a drunken pedlar has set down a basket of hornbooks and breviaries, which an ape is busily emptying, two other apes are tormenting the poor devil as he lies on the ground; the verses express the advantages of sobriety, and the disadvantages of the opposite vice.

The *six* represents a lover playing on the lute to his mistress; the verses imply that "Music is the food of Love."

The *seven* is an emblem of music: a lady, or modern Saint Cecilia, is playing on the organ, of which a youth at the back is blowing the bellows. The verses are in praise of music.

The *eight* displays a lover and his mistress singing madrigals. The verses are also in praise of vocal music.

The *nine* has some interest, as representing a lady playing on the virginals, an instrument now forgotten.

Weil ich mein hertz, welchs ohne zill
Von arbeit mat, ergetzen will
Mit meim Gesang, werd ich, hab acht
Zu ruck von eim Narren verlacht.
Wer da verspott der Music gsang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein lebenlang.

The ludicrous attitude of the fool in the back ground will not escape the attention of those who are interested in representations of this singular appendage to the household of persons of distinction in ancient times.

The *tens* in this pack appear to hold the place of the Queen in other European cards, they each have a lady upon them richly habited, and the value of the card is indicated by the Roman numeral X on a scroll in the corner.

The *Knave* or *Untermann* is a valet or page with a sword in his left hand.

The *Knight* or *Obermann*, a gentleman with a sword by his side, a cap with feathers in his left hand, and a book in his right,

The *King* is on horseback, the horse richly caparisoned, and bears in his right hand a book, in his left a sceptre.

In our haste to give the reader specimens of this beautiful pack of Cards, we had nearly omitted the *ace* of books. It has, however, nothing very remarkable, being only a large book laid open, and surrounded by foliage. This notice of it is here inserted that the description of the pack may be complete.

The *Ace* of Printers' Balls has on it a shield with arms, probably those of some German city, as Nuremberg, or Francfort. Under this card are the following Latin and German verses, in the latter of which *Sigismund Feyrabend's* name is mentioned: they are here transcribed.

Triptolemus veluti mundi olim sparsit in usus,
Fæcunda frugum semina dia manu:
Arte typographica sic secla futura secundat,
Cujus in hac tabula signa decora nitent.

Gleich wieder Triptolemus hat,
Mit Waitzen Korn und aller Sat.
Erstlich besähet die ganze Welt,
Dauon sie sich noch jetz erhelt
Also strewt mit Kunstreicher hand,
Gil edler Kunst durch alle Land,
Sigmundt Feyrabend weit gepreisst.
Welchs Wappen dise Tafel weist.

The *deuce* of this suit contains the following spirited representation of an ancient press, with the mode of operating: it is accompanied by the subjoined verses.

Vestra quod, ô Superi, nunquam peritura per orbem
Fama volat, nostri est munus id auspicii,
Premia quin dabitis nostro bene digna labore,
Divitias Juno, Bacche benigne MERUM?

Dass ewr nam weit und breit ohn zahl
Erkennt, gelobt wirdt uberall,
Habt jr, jr Götter algemein,
Zu dancken vnsrer Kunst allein
Warumb wolt jhr dann uns nicht geben
Gross Gut, vnd Edlen Saft von Reben?

The *trey* affords us the following interesting group, which is singularly appropriate to the subject of the present work, accompanied by the following lines.

Sum tua, vicisti, vitæ ô mihi dulce levamen
Sit tibi cura mei, Sit mihi cura tui.
O suave imperium, vel nectare dulcius, unum
In geminis ubi cor, mens amor & studium.

Du hast gewonnen edler Hort,
Ich will nun dein sein hie und dort.
Da lebet Gott, wo Mann vnd Weib
Zwen menschen sein, ein Seel, ein Leib.

The *four* represents two porters carrying between them, on a porter's horse, a bale of paper surmounted by a tall wine pot. The Latin verses, as they are a panegyric of the typographic art, are subjoined.

Quos prisci quondam longo scripsere labore,
Dant ære impressos secula nostra libros.
Et dubitabis adhuc mirari Teutonis artes?
Sed velut ars crescit, crescit ita heu odium.

The *five* exhibits a gay scene: a lover gaily drest, his arm round his mistress, skipping to the sound of the pipe and tabor, which is played by a characteristic figure to his right.

The *six*, though gross, is a very humourous representation. It is the immersion of a fool into a tub of water, as a corrective for his amorous propensities; this is effected by a sturdy wench in a state of nudity, who under pretext of bestowing on him her caresses, has invited him to seat himself on the brink of the vessel, and is precipitating him into it by main force.

The *seven* exhibits a quarrelsome couple; the lady looks like a determined shrew, and the husband is in the act of threatening wholesome correction with a stout cudgel. The verses, both Latin and German, inculcate the maxim, that there is no greater curse than a bad wife.

Nulla uxore mala res est deterior, ausu
Quæ superat pestem, & nigra aconita, suo.
Desine, fuste malum qui pellere niteris, uno
Pulso, bis quinis panditur hospitium.

The *eight* represents a woman busily engaged purchasing a fowl and eggs of a huckster, who is seated, and engaging her attention by every means in his power, while an accomplice behind her is detaching the woman's purse from her girdle.

The *nine* presents us with a group of soldiers, two of whom are disputing over a division of spoil by lot, the other with his arquebuss on his shoulder is standing centry. We shall transcribe both the Latin and German verses.

Et qua sors nobis tribuit spolia inclita ab auro,
Parte dicata tibi, parte dicata mihi.
Alea nos doceat, cui cedant omnia, quid si
Perdidero? veniunt vt bona, sic pereunt.

Weil uns das glück ein Beute reich
Bescheret hat, so wer kein gleich
Solln mit einander theillen, zwar
Wer diss mein meynung gantz und gar,
Wer spielteu mit zwey Würffeln drein,
Wer es solt haben gar allein.
Wenn ichs verspiel, was seyt daran?
Leicht uberkommen, leicht verthan.

The *ten* as before; a lady in a rich habit, with a printer's ball in her hand.

The *Knave*; a soldier resting on his firelock.

The *Knight* in a rich habit, with a spear staff in his hand.

The *King*, on horseback, in rich habiliments, his sceptre in one hand and the *suit* in the other. The verses on these three last cards laudatory of the art of printing.

On the *ace* of wine pots we have the following spirited representation of the vintage.

Divinum vinum donum est; sed ut ebrius Aethnam
Impleat ardentem, vina venena facit.
Qui sapias, ingluviem fugias: nam pocula pleno
Jejunoque simul noxia damna ferunt.

Gotts gab ist Wein, vnd nutzung vil
Dem Menschen bringt ohn mass vnd zill:
Ein voller Zapff Gotts Gaben gut
Den Wein in gifft verkehren thut.
Wilstu für klug gehalten sein,
Fleuch Füllerey, vnd trinck den Wein
Messiglich, Dann die trunckenheit
Vollen vnd lehren schaden geit.

The *deuce* of wine pots; a rustic couple dancing with all the hilarity produced by a cup of good wine.

The *trey*; a man and his wife at dinner. The man has his bottle and drinking horn in his hand, and is sleeping: the wife is taking a deep draught from a tankard; a dog in front is seizing a capon from the table, and bearing it away in his mouth.

The *four*; a drunken couple, the husband belabouring his Xantippe, who holds him hard by the hair, to prevent herself from quite reaching the ground; she is in the act of falling. The verses inculcate the necessity of proper discipline in families.

The *five*; Bacchus mounted on a tub, a satyr piping with his companion a goat, a peasant with a basket of grapes at his back making an offering of his favourite fruit to the jolly god.

The *six* represents the subjoined spirited little design of a game at backgammon.

Et quia sors varios in vita perficit actus;
Sorte volunt juvenes ludere, forte senes.
Illo e more tibi vitra hæc sic defero, perdens
Vt bibat, & damni lucra benigna ferat.

The early German artists seem to have been best pleased with humourous subjects, they are much more frequently treated by them than by the Italians; those who are conversant with the productions of the graphic art in the sixteenth century will readily subscribe to

this remark; Jost Ammon indeed seems to have been most eminently successful in treating them. The fool, who takes so prominent a place in the dramas of our Great Dramatic Bard, seems to have been a particular favourite also with this artist. The following humourous little vignette is on the *seven* of wine pots in this beautiful pack of cards.

Fingis amicitiam, Felis, lususque, jocosque,
Faucibus affectans fercula nostra tuis:
Frustra assentaris, Cate, nobis: i pete Regum,
I pete magnorum tecta superba Ducum.

Auff dass du mögst den Praten mein
Zerreissen mit den zeenen dein,
Freundlich du dich zu mir, gesellst
Mein Katzelein: Fürwar du stellst
Die Fuchs schwäntz dein vergeblich an
Bey eim Narren: Pack dich hindan,
Grossen herrn seind Fuchs schwantzer lieb,
Stehlen doch mehr als ander Dieb.

The *eight* and *nine* are instances of elegant arrangement of the objects which represent the suits; the *eight* is a kind of grotesque mandrake, the wine pots spring from it as branches, a panther is at the root; in the *nine*, it is a vine which springs from one of the pots, the rest are arranged on its branches, a bird is in the centre.

The *ten*, as in the other suits, is a female richly dressed, with a wine pot in her hand.

The *Knave* is the following spirited representation of the *Lands Knechte*; it will serve as an example of the masterly and dashing style in which the larger figures on these cards are executed.

Et tua castra sequor multos jam Bacche per annos,
Quæ tandem famulo dona parata tuo?
Pauperiem innumeros morbos, mortemque perennem,
Strenuus hæc noster præmia miles habet.

Dir hab ick Edler Bache nun
All Jar gedient, Was ist mein lohn?
Armut, Kranckheit, und Todes pein,
Seb ich den trewen Dienern mein.

The *Knight*, as in the former cases, represents a nobleman, but with a wine pot in his hand.

The *King* on horseback, as before, but less richly habited, his steed and his coronet decorated with vine leaves, his sceptre in one hand, and a wine pot in the other.

The *ace* of drinking cups is supported by two goldsmiths, one shoulders the crucible tongs, the other the forge bellows.

On the *deuce* of this suit we have the following very elaborate and interesting cut, which required much skill in the *Formschneider*, and is equally creditable to the designer. It is here copied with much spirit and accuracy by the same ingenious artist we have already had occasion to mention, Mr. E. Byfield.

Ut quondam Amphion fera traxit carmine saxa
Grata movens homini gaudia, grata Deo:
Haud aliter facimus. Tu vivas mœstus in ævum,
Munera qui spernis nostra, Melancholice.

We subjoin the German verses on this card: they appear to be a free version of the Latin.

Und gleich wie mit der Leyren sein,
Amphion gut die harten Stein
Bewegen thet, und zu ihm zog,
Erfrewet auch die Götter hoch:
Also thun wir mit vnserm Gsang:
Bleib du trawrig dein leibenlang,
Der du vnser Kunst je vndje,
Veracht est Melancolice.

The *trey* presents us with the separation of a lover and his mistress; he is on horseback, and she is weeping bitterly, and is supposed to address him in the following strain:

Dumte suspiro, dum te desidero solum,
Tecum dulce putans vivere, dulce mori,
Spemque metumque inter miseram me deseris: heu quam
Quod juvat in terris, vel breve, vel nihil est.

We had omitted to notice that the set of these cards, which we here describe, have been formed from one of the little books before mentioned; the accompanying verses are pasted on the backs of the cards. Notwithstanding the numerous impressions which it is most likely were taken off, copies of this little book, or complete packs of the cards, are at the present day of the utmost rarity, even in Germany. We were assured by the parties from whom the present set were obtained, that another complete copy would with difficulty be found, even in the most celebrated collections in that country. Single cards of various packs are to be found in the cabinets of some curious collectors, but we know not of any other complete set of these decorated cards in this country.

The *four* has a love scene of a different nature: the singularity of the fountain, the water spouting from the ears of the fool's cap, need not be pointed out.

Dum lasciva procum Phyllis sermone fatigat,
Fercula quæ, portat, dat male cauta cani:
Sic nos, dum turpi venamur gaudia luxu,
Flebile post tergum devorat exitium.

Gleich wie diss Hündlein vnversehn,
Weil lieb vnd lieb bey einander stehn
Und Kurtzweil suchen vnerlaubt,
Die Köchin in ihrer Speyss beraubt:
Sothut auch vns, weil wir, merckt ebn,
Unser Datum vnd gantzes lebn
Auff wollust setzen, hinderück
Plotzlich verzern das vnglück.

The *five*; two sturdy combatants attacking each other with the broad sword, two quarter staves lie at their feet with the sheaths of their weapons.

The *six*; a huntsman with a spear and two couple of hounds. This is a very spirited cut.

The *seven* is interesting, as being a representation of that important personage, a cook: he is surrounded by the implements of his profession. There is a repetition of this subject in the *Book of Trades* by our artist.

The *eight*; two monkies, the one drinking, the other, a deformed monster, eating fruit.

The *nine* represents the well known fable of the wolf and the stork. This card has the artist's mark, I A, on a tablet in the middle.

The *ten* is a lady richly habited, as before.

The *Knave*; another *Lands knechte* armed with a large pole axe, a tremendous long sword, and a dagger; his back is towards the spectator.

The *Knight*; an artist with a pallet, maulstick, and pencils, a drinking cup in his right hand.

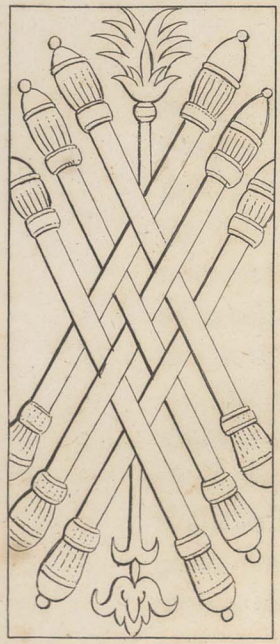
The *King*; a Turkish sultan on a richly caparisoned horse.

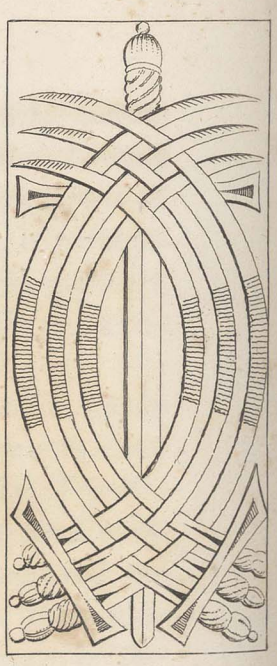
Dull as a mere catalogue of cards may appear, it was deemed proper to give a brief account of the whole of this very rare and curious pack in this place, as they have entirely escaped the notice of Mr. Bartsch,[1] of whom it is the opinion, that Jost Ammon never engraved on wood, but merely furnished the designs for some other *Formschneider*; this assertion he grounds upon the circumstance of some of the wood cuts after his designs having the monogram or mark of the engraver, as well as that of the designer. Jost Ammon is said to have applied himself to painting in oil, painting on glass, designing for book prints, and engraving on copper, which last art he exercised with considerable skill. His application appears to have

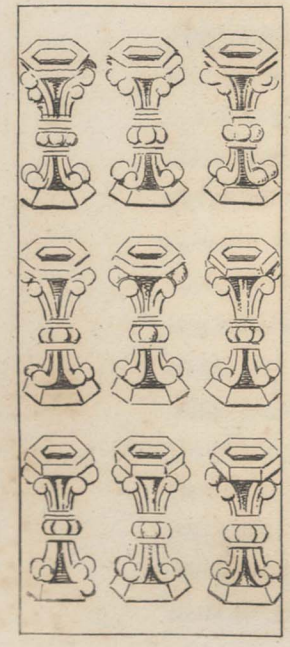
[1] PEINTRE GRAVEUR, Tom. ix. p. 351. et seq. where a copious, but incomplete, list of his works will be found.

been astonishing. Sandrart relates, upon the authority of his pupil, George Keller, that during the four years he lived with him, he had produced designs enough to have loaded a waggon. The spirit of the designs in his Book of Trades, and on these cards, is perhaps not exceeded by any wood cuts of the same period, when numbers of excellent artists flourished, and the quantity of engravings executed both on wood and on copper is almost beyond belief.

The number, the variety, and beauty of these decorated cards manifest that they were very much in request in the sixteenth century, but they appear to have been peculiar to Germany, France, and the Low Countries; at least no Italian cards of this kind have come under our notice. The earliest *Trappola* cards engraved on wood, which we have seen, is part of two or three packs in the collection of Mr. Douce, of which we have given specimens in the Plate of *Trappola* Cards. They were taken from the covers of a book, like the early German pack before described, but are probably not of earlier date than the middle of the sixteenth century. The manner in which they are formed is by pasting together three pieces of paper: the two outer pieces forming the back and front of the card are printed, the one with the suit or device, the other with a kind of ornamental figure and the word IESI. which we presume intimates the city of that name where they were manufactured; indeed the ace of *Denari* has a kind of legend round the piece of money represented on it, in which the word occurs again, thus, IESI FECE*** ANTONIO ZA****; but the whole of the inscription is so much obliterated by the colouring of the card, that it is with some difficulty we have deciphered part of it, the rest is entirely illegible. The printed back of the card was left wider than the other two pieces of which it is formed, and the edges of it folded over upon the front, and when pasted down formed a kind of border: as there are parts of at least three packs, and among them several duplicates, we find that the ornaments on the backs of these cards were varied at the caprice of the card-maker. One of the devices we have here copied. Another of them has a figure of Neptune, and still be-







Italian Trappola Cards.

neath the word IESI. but the majority of them have a kind of spotted figure, somewhat resembling the printed papers used by trunk-makers to line their boxes.

These cards all of them betray their having been much used at play, previous to their application to the formation of pasteboard; and one of the figured cards of the suit of cups has been lost in one of the packs, and its place supplied by a numerical card of the same suit, upon which is written in an old hand the word *Cavallo*. The pack in this instance appears to have consisted of forty-eight cards, the numerical cards running from *one* to *ten*; the two figured cards, a King, *Re*, and Knight, *Cavallo*. They are coloured with the same simplicity which marks the early German cards, and the two colours are the same, *red* and *green*, which appear also to have been laid on by means of pierced patterns, or stensils, as in the former case.

The question, to which of the two nations, Italy, or Germany, the honour of first printing cards belongs? is involved in the origin of the xylographic art, for there can be no doubt that this art was very soon after its discovery applied to the purpose of multiplying them, if they did not give rise to the invention. The decree of the senate of Venice, cited in a former part of this work,[1] clearly manifests that cards, and other images, had been printed in that city long before the year 1443, for the art is described as having then come to decay, in consequence of the importation of these objects; and it would require some time for an art to flourish and create a number of artists, and then a considerable period must elapse before the rivalry of foreigners could supplant them, and bring about their ruin.

Zani[2] has cited a passage from a Dialogue written by Pietro Aretino, in which he makes a Paduan card-maker hold a conference with cards, and boast of his skill in his art, and likewise mention some very old cards which he keeps for their antiquity, and the honour of his profession. Now this dialogue was written before the

[1] Page 23, *supra*.

[2] *Materiali*, x. pp. 72. 73. 150. The Dialogue is entitled "*Le Carte Parlanti.*" The first edition was printed at Venice by *Bartolommeo detto l'Imperador*, 1545, 8vo; that from which Zani quotes was printed at Venice per Marco Ginammie, 1651. in 8vo: the following are the passages to which he refers: CARTE. Quelle carte vecchie che tu tieni in serbo per memoria della loro antichità," &c. "PADOVANO. Il vostro avermi rammentato le carte vecchissime, chio tengo per reputazione del mestier di voi, mi reca in istupore circa il lor essere state per tante mani di giuocatori, ne havere macula veruna."

The satirist, says Zani, should have mentioned the maker of these cards, and he ought the more to have done it because he has put the dialogue into the mouth of a native of Padua, by profession a card-maker, as may be seen by the following passages, where he makes him thus address the cards: "*Giurandovi per la protezion di voi, che piu mi contento del nome di* Cartajo, *che non faceua il Verino di quello di Filosofo*"—and again "*Et ho piu piacere nel vedermi scritto nelle carte, che il Buonaroti nelle statue——Bench'io son certo che nel comparir là un pajo di belle carte, si sa che non può aver fatte se non il Padovano, come anche la Capella senza altre lettere s'intenda per opera di Michelagnolo.*" And in another place the cards say "*Circa la mentione del Buonaroti potressi dire che son più quegli, che conoscono te per unico in far* carte, tarocchi, *e* germini *che lui per singolare nel dipingere, nello inscolpire, e nello edificare.*"

year 1543, in which the first edition appeared, and the superlative, *vecchissime* (extremely old), which Aretino uses, makes it evident that the cards mentioned must at least have been of the preceding century.

It is much to be regretted that so few Italian xylographic specimens of the fifteenth century have come down to us; no writer with which we are acquainted has mentioned cards of that period engraved on wood, unless we admit the painted cards described by Lanzi to have had their outlines printed, nor have any come under our notice which could be attributed to that country, and which appeared to have been executed before 1500; indeed but few Italian cards are now to be met with, even of the sixteenth century, while the Germans may boast of very numerous specimens, many of them masterpieces of art, and most of them decorated and embellished with devices displaying much ingenuity and fancy. Yet the number of engravers on wood in Italy must have been considerable, and the demand for cards not less extensive than it was in Germany; the sole reason which can be adduced to account for the paucity of specimens of Italian cards, is, that they were probably executed with less pretensions as works of art, and therefore had not the same claim to preservation which the German cards have; it may be observed that the Germans made their cards vehicles of instruction, and sometimes published them in the form of a book with verses accompanying them, while we have no record of the Italians having done this: the German cards have thus been preserved as series of prints, while the more rude Italian cards have not been deemed worthy of preservation.

It is not only the infancy of xylography, but also that of the chalcographic art, which is intimately connected with this subject; for among the very earliest specimens of the latter, have been considered the series of old Italian prints, known to collectors on the continent by the appellation of the *Giuoco di Tarocchi*, consisting of a series of fifty pieces divided into five classes or decades, and representing the orders or ranks of society, the sciences, virtues, liberal

and mechanical arts, &c. Each class is marked with one of the letters A. B. C. D. E. at the left hand corner at bottom, and the opposite one has the number of the series in Arabic numerals; beneath the print is the name of the subject, as PAPA. RHETORICA. MISERO. FAMEIO. ARTIXAN. ZINTILOMO. CHAVALIER. DOXE. POESIA. &c. accompanied by the number again in Roman numerals. We are enabled by the kindness of Mr. Ottley to present our readers with two specimens; the Pope, and Rhetoric, faithfully copied from the originals in his possession, and we beg to refer to his valuable History of Engraving for a copious description of the whole series, and critical examination of them, with a conjecture in regard to the artist and city which produced them. Some connoisseurs have supposed that these prints were engraved by Maso Finiguerra, and others have attributed them to Andrea Mantegna; but Zani says they were certainly mistaken, and has preferred giving them to an artist who flourished at Venice, or Padua: he founds his supposition in some measure on the orthography of the names engraved beneath them, which he says are in the dialect of Venice. Mr. Ottley, whose opinion on the subject may be safely followed, has shewn that there is much greater probability of their being the production of a Florentine artist. We shall enter no further into this matter, as it will be before the reader in a much more perfect form in the work of that gentleman above cited, contenting ourselves with remarking, that it has not been clearly demonstrated that these are what they are called, *Tarocchi* cards, although in conformity with the general opinion we have given them admission as such in this work; but the following reasons seem to militate against the supposition that they were intended originally for that purpose.

We shall not make the size a principal objection, although we have no instance to adduce of any early cards equally large; but no other cards of the *Tarocco* kind, with which we are acquainted, have the same objects represented on them, and if they are of that species, Where are the cards with the common suits, which should accompany them? for Zani's supposition, that the letters which mark

E· PAPA·X· ·10·

·C· ·RHETORICA·XXIII· ·Z3·

the classes or decades were intended to denote the suits, is hardly admissible. He says, "I have found the letters thus explained: A. *Tutto*, all; B. *Bastone*, Clubs; C. *Coppe*, Cups; D. *Danari*, Money; E. Spade, *Swords*;"—But if this was the case, what was to denote the numerical value of the card, surely not the number beneath it, for this proceeds in arithmetical progression from 1 to 50? Zani however, further says, that in the copy of these cards which he possesses, the class which is usually marked with an E. is marked S. which answers better for *Spada*; but in the original copy E must be read for *Epée*, French: he might have added, with equal probability, for *Espada*, Spanish, if his explanation be at all admissible.

Whether these very curious prints were intended for playing cards of the *Tarocco* kind or no, cannot perhaps now therefore with certainty be ascertained, but they are not the less curious monuments of the infancy of the valuable art of engraving on copper: they are in the same dry hard manner which characterises most of the early specimens of the Italian School, and bear no remote resemblance in manner, and style of design, to the prints in that very curious book, the *Monte Sancto di Dio*, which, as it was executed at Florence, seems to give much probability to Mr. Ottley's hypothesis. In the designs there is much merit, particularly in the youth bearing a vase, denominated FAMEIO, among those possessed by Mr. Douce, who has ten of them; and a very spirited personification of Astrology, one of the four possessed by Mr. Triphook; Mr. Lloyd, whose collection of early specimens of the chalcographic art, is perhaps without a rival in this country, has also a portion of this same set; and Mr. George Cumberland is in possession of nearly a complete copy of the whole series. They are described, but with some confusion, by Bartsch; and Mr. Ottley's list will be found both more complete, and more correct.

[1] Zani says, that he also saw at Bologna, in the library of the Institute, a print of St. John the Evangelist, by the same anonymous artist. He judged, from the following passage of Scripture engraved on it, DESCENDIT. AD. INFERA. TERCIA. DIE. RESURREXIT. A. MORTUIS., that it formed *one* of a series of the *twelve* Apostles. The Saint is represented sitting and writing with the right hand the words, "In principio," &c.

By the same anonymous artist who engraved this series of prints, Zani says he had also seen, in the cabinet of Signor Terres at Naples, a pack of cards, which it should seem had the Italian or Trappola suits represented on them, for he describes the King of *Denari* as having inscribed upon it R. FILIPPO. upon the Queen of the same suit was ELENA. and on the Knight SERAFINO. The King of *Coppe* was marked LVCIO CECILIO. R. and the Queen POLISSENA.

It may be questioned whether these cards, if they were of the same size, and in the same style with these supposed *Tarocchi*, are not part of the same pack; and it would go far to show that this set of prints are what they have been called, if this circumstance was clearly established; but, if we rightly understand the dimensions given by Zani, the cards he mentions were much smaller.[1]

It is singular that some of the earliest specimens of engraving on copper, both in Italy and Germany, are playing cards; it may serve to show the great demand there must have been for them at that period, and how eagerly the card-makers seized upon this mode of shortening their labour.

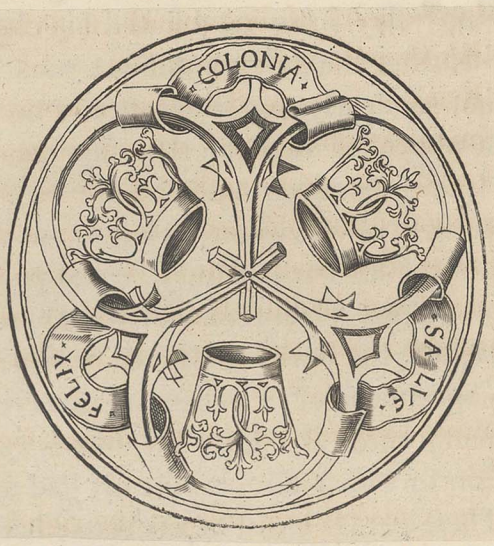
Zani mentions the circumstance of the greater part of the early Italian prints being executed with a pale ink of a grayish tint; but he had seen one set of these *Tarocchi* in the cabinet of the Duke de Cassano Serra at Naples, which were printed with very black ink, "*nere d'un color piu che l'inchiostro*," and for this reason he thinks that those are mistaken who suppose that all the early engravers made their impressions with this pale tint, but that it arises from their not having met with good impressions. He is not borne out in this supposition by facts, and it is more probable that the black impressions are very much posterior to the others. It is a remarkable coincidence, that this pale coloured ink should also seem to have been used by the early wood engravers, in making impressions from their blocks. The honour of the invention of the chalcographic art

[1] Dello stesso Artefice ho anche asservato in Napoli im altro Guioco di carte non compito, alcune di queste nel gabinetto dei Signori *Terres*, e alcune altre in quello di *D. Ciccia di Lucca*, alte 3 pollici e 6 linee, large 2 e 4 con un picciola cornice. MATERIALI, &c. p. 71.

is now demonstrated to be due to Maso Finiguerra; the researches of Zani and Mr. Ottley have established his claim upon the most solid grounds: whether the xylographic art took its rise in Italy or Germany, cannot so clearly and satisfactorily be proved; the claim must remain in abeyance between these nations, until some future discovery may lead to the decision.

Among the earliest as well as most elegant specimens of engraved cards executed in the fifteenth century, is the pack before adverted to at page 45, as in the possession of Mr. Douce, and which are there said to resemble the works of *Martin Schoen*; they are interesting, not only as specimens of the ingenuity exercised in inventing varieties of ornamental cards at this period, but as examples of the high pitch of perfection to which the graphic art had attained soon after its invention. These cards consist of *five* suits; hares, parrots, pinks, roses, and columbines: each suit has four figured or court cards; King, Queen, Knight, and Knave, so that a complete pack would consist of seventy cards, of which we have only seen thirty-six. Bartsch has given descriptions of such of them as he had seen, but he does not attempt to decide upon the artist who engraved them, merely calling them the work of an anonymous artist of the fifteenth century. The ingenuity displayed in the arrangement of the objects upon the numerical cards, will be sufficiently apparent from the *four* of parrots and *nine* of rabbits, which are exhibited among our specimens in the second plate of engraved cards; and an idea of the figured cards may be obtained from the *Knave* of rabbits and of parrots given in the same plate: four more of these cards are copied in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, but his copies do not afford so correct a representation of the style of the engraver as the very excellent facsimiles which Mr. Swaine has executed for this work. Mr. Douce's specimens are fortunately accompanied by the frontispiece or wrapper intended for these cards, consisting of three crowns, emblematic of Cologne, and a scroll upon which we read SALVE. FELIX. COLONIA. so that whoever was the artist, it appears he was then resident in that city.

We have caused this wrapper to be accurately copied, and it is here subjoined.



The *ace* of hares is accompanied by a scroll, upon which is engraved "*Felix me die quisquis turba parte quiet.*[1]

The *King* represents a Sultan on horseback, galloping toward the left; the hare is running in the right hand corner.

The *Queen* is richly habited, her robe spotted with *fleurs de lis*, and an inscription embroidered on the border; she is mounted on a palfrey richly caparisoned, her head dress of a singular form surmounted by a coronet: she is riding toward the left, and the hare is seated in the upper part to the right.

One of the couriers or *Knaves* is represented in the plate of facsimiles. The other has a bow and arrows in his right hand, and holds the hilt of his scimeter in the left; the scimeter and his quiver at his side. He is running toward the left, and the hare is seated before him in the lower part of the print.

The *ace* of parrots has also a scroll, upon which is written *Recte quidquid facimus venit ex alto.*

The *King* is riding toward the right, flourishing a sceptre in his left hand; the parrot is behind him toward the upper part of the circle.

[1] This inscription is given on the authority of *Bartsch Peintre Graveur*, T. x. p. 75.

The *Queen* of this suit is also riding toward the right, her horse holds down his head; part of her mantle is flying off behind: the parrot is in the upper part before her.

One of the Knaves is copied in the accompanying plate; the other is armed in the same manner with a singular and formidable kind of mace, consisting of a spiked globe of iron attached by a chain to a long wooden handle, so as to form a kind of flail: We are informed this is a weapon which is still to be seen in foreign arsenals; and one of our Guildhall giants is so armed. This knave is running toward the right, the parrot is in the upper part of the print.

The *ace* of pinks has upon a scroll the motto *Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest.*

The *King* is here also riding toward the right; he has the bridle in his left hand, and a sceptre in the right; on the trappings of his horse is part of a German inscription, the pink is behind him.

The *Queen* of pinks is seen in profile, riding toward the right; the bridle is in her left hand, the other rests upon her thigh; on the saddle-cloth are embroidered two hands, joined together in token of union, with a sprig or root of some kind, accompanied by the $\overset{A.}{M.\ G.}$ probably the emblem of the lady intended to be here represented: the pink is in the upper part of the print behind her.

One of the *Knaves* has a halberd on his right shoulder, a fur cap with feathers, and is running toward the right: the pink is toward the bottom of the circle on the right.

The other *Knave* has a halberd on his left shoulder; his left hand rests on his hip; his face is turned toward the spectator, but he is running to the right: before him in the upper part of the print is the pink.

The *ace* of roses has a scroll with *Pepulit vires casus animo que tulit equo*: the latter part of this inscription was omitted by Bartsch in his description; it is possible that he could not make it out, as there are several singular abbreviations.

The *King* has his face turned toward the spectator, but is riding

toward the right; his saddle-cloth is studded with *fleurs de lis*; his sceptre is in his right hand, the bridle in his left: the rose is behind him in the upper part of the circle.

The *Queen* is riding toward the right; she has the bridle in her right hand, and bears a hawk upon her left; her dress is richly embroidered and bordered with ermine: the rose is in the upper part of the print behind her.

The two *Knaves* we have not seen; Bartsch describes one of them as carrying a bow on his shoulder, and having a quiver full of arrows, and a sword by his side, and running toward the right, with the rose above on the right. The other he also had not seen.

The *ace* of columbines (Bartsch calls them larkspurs) bears written on a scroll, *Par ille superis, cui par dies et fortuna fuit.*

The *King* is on horseback going toward the left; his sceptre in the right hand, the bridle in the left: the columbine in the upper part of the circle to the right.

The *Queen*, not on *horseback* as Bartsch has described her, but mounted on a *mule*, her full front toward the spectator, and riding toward the left; her head-dress of a singular form, and a richly ornamented bridle with bells hanging to it: the columbine is above to the right.

The *Knaves* of this suit we have not seen, but one of them is thus described by Bartsch; he is on foot going toward the left, and holding in his right hand a lance which rests on his shoulder; the left hand on the hilt of his sword: the columbine above to the left.

There are many other packs of engraved cards which were executed about the latter end of the fifteenth century in Germany, parts of a few sets are described by Bartsch. Some of them have the suits marked by animals, others by flowers, and some again by birds and the human figure. Mr. Douce has also specimens of several varieties of this kind, but the dry detail of description would, we fear, wear out the patience of our readers; we shall, therefore, content ourselves with referring to the work of Bartsch above cited, for notices of some other packs of cards engraved on copper.

The Germans varied the objects represented on their cards as suits, at pleasure, and there is evidence existing that cards with Italian suits were fabricated by them in the fifteenth century; for a very curious pack, engraved on copper, is described by Breitkopf, part of which he had seen in the cabinet of M. Silberrad at Nuremberg, and he mentions a complete pack of them as existing in the collection of Count Gersdorf at Bareuth. In his second plate he has given specimens of them, and says "they belong to the latter part of the fifteenth century, and appear to have been the work of a goldsmith. The artist has filled the intermediate spaces on the numerical cards with various devices of human figures, and animals. The pack consisted of fifty-two cards, having King, Queen, Knave, and ten numerical cards in each suit; they are about five inches long and three broad. On the deuce of swords there is a scroll with an inscription and a date, which appears to have been intended for the year 1486; but Breitkopf's fac-similes are but loosely executed, and there is perhaps no dependance to be placed upon their accuracy. The suits are marked by *swords*, *cups*, *clubs*, and *pomegranates*, this last suit is instead of *denari* or money. Bartsch, who has mentioned this pack, and described some of the cards, says nothing respecting the date, but it is probable he had not seen the deuce of swords, the card upon which it occurs. There are other marks by which these cards might, we think, be appropriated, but for this purpose it would be necessary to have access to the originals, and opportunity of closely examining them.

Among the infinite variety of decorated cards which Germany produced, the kindness of friends has enabled us to offer some specimens of considerable merit: four have been already given at page 42, from the collection of Mr. Ottley; and we shall now present the reader with four others of considerable interest and beauty from the same gentleman's collection. The cabinet of Mr. Douce is extremely rich in these decorated cards, and it was with difficulty we could resist the temptation of adding a few more specimens, but prudence dictated the necessity of keeping some limit, as these ela-

borate fac-similes are not obtained without incurring considerable expense; and it is presumed, that the prints of this kind which the work contains, and which constitute its principal merit, will be deemed sufficiently numerous.

The suits in the pack to which the following cards belong, are the ordinary German objects, *Hearts*, *Leaves*, *Bells*, and *Acorns*. Upon the Knave of hearts we have the following representation of the itinerant barber, accompanied by his squirrel, and bearing about him the implements of his profession.

His dress may appear somewhat gay, but it should seem to have been the common one of his fraternity at that period, for in the book of trades, by Jost Ammon, before referred to, is a delineation of an interior of a barber's shop, in which the principal operator is represented in a similar costume.

The *Knave* of leaves presents us with another profession, a Scribe; and we should imagine that in this set of cards, the various

trades may have formed part of the subjects represented. The engravers and the publishers of these decorated cards had, no doubt, a view to their answering a double purpose; they were purchased not only as playing cards, but as a series of instructive and amusing prints.

Hence, perhaps, arose the idea of making them vehicles of instruction. In the hands of Thomas Murner, at the begininng of the sixteenth century, they were applied to the purpose of teaching the elements of logic, and the Institutes of Justinian; the reader need not be informed how frequently in more recent times they have been made the instruments of communicating knowledge to the young: there is scarcely a branch of human learning to which attempts have not been made of adapting them.

The *deuce* of bells we have chosen, because it affords a striking and beautiful specimen of what has been accounted in this art an

impossibility; the cross hatching in the print beneath is a sufficient answer to all those who have contended that metal plates must have been used by Albert Durer, and other artists of his time, for that wood was incapable of producing these effects.

The subject of this card is evidently intended for a barbaric King and his attendant: the sovereign is marked by his crown or tiara and sceptre; and the hawk on his hand is, as we have before observed, a mark of nobility, or royalty. Those who are acquainted with the process of wood engraving will be best able to appreciate the labour and skill requisite to produce the following beautiful specimen of the art. It may be allowed to us, perhaps, here to observe, that we do not think this the proper province of xylography, for effects of this kind are produced by that art with infinite labour, which the burin would produce on copper with the utmost facility; and therefore nothing is gained, but the advantage of working the print with the text by means of the common printer's press. The more wood cuts

approach to the simplicity of mere outline drawings, with only slight hatching, as indications of shadow, the greater the degree of beauty and spirit they generally seem to possess. Perhaps more exquisite specimens of the application of this art to the purpose of decorative printing cannot be adduced, than the beautiful little embellishments of this kind which accompany the late editions of the poems of Mr. Rogers. They were drawn on the blocks by the tasteful pencil of Stothard, and are, consequently, for the most part exact transcripts of his designs.

The last card of this kind which we shall introduce is the *six* of acorns.

We are not quite certain whether it may have formed one of the set to which the three foregoing cards belong; the arrangement of the figures, and the style of design, indeed, do not seem to countenance the supposition. The subject is a wedding, and we have here again our old friend, the fool, playing the part of minstrel or fidler to the procession on this festive occasion.

A modern writer has expressed his surprise that no improvement has taken place in the figures on cards, and has endeavoured to account for it: had he been acquainted with these beautiful cards produced in Germany nearly three centuries since, his surprise would have increased, and he would have deemed it strange, that in the rage for innovation and improvement we should have continued content with the grotesque and unmeaning figures upon ours, when such admirable examples had been held out to us by our neighbours. But the German cards have degenerated into the same kind of rudeness; and all attempts at introducing cards with better designs have failed, as well in that country as in France, of obtaining universal encouragement; yet there have not been wanting ingenious artists who have made the attempt, and cards in which the figures are dressed in modern costume, well drawn and coloured, have been offered as substitutes, but without any great degree of success; our readers will no doubt be familiar with similar attempts on the part of some ingenious card-makers in England; but so pertinaciously have the original figures been adhered to, that although the improvement has been applauded and the cards admired, they have rather been purchased as curiosities than for use, and for the *serious* purpose of playing, the old figures have ever been preferred. An ingenious artist of the name of *Gubitz*, in Germany, has recently engraved the figured cards in a very neat manner on blocks of wood, but it would be difficult to obtain universal sanction for them, and we doubt not that the majority of mankind will still prefer the old tasteless objects to these new and more agreeable ones: perhaps the writer above cited has given the true solution of this problem: it will be found in the note beneath.[1]

[1] In the present age while the people value themselves so much for their good taste, and support with such avidity every adventurer's proposal for embellishing the most trivial works, how is it, that they remain satisfied with those insipid figures which are presented to them upon cards, when it would cost no more to have them impressed with more agreeable objects? But while cards are only used for interest, and not amusement, it is thought of no consequence whether they are well or ill painted. *Anecdotes, Historical and Literary*, 1796. 8vo. p. 10.

As an example of what the moderns have attempted, the reader is presented with the following copy of one of the cards engraved by Gubitz, above mentioned.

It has been a question whence the grotesque figures on modern court cards could have been derived; we have before observed, that they bear no distant resemblance to some of the representations of the human figure among the Chinese, and it will be seen that their modern cards are charged with similar designs; but we have no certain clue to guide us in ascertaining whether they were thence derived. The figures in Mexican hieroglyphical paintings also afford objects very resemblant to those on our court cards, but there is not any reason for supposing that with them they have any connexion. Perhaps we ought to seek no further than the rude wood-cuts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of which are as remote from being correct representations of humanity, as are the singular objects depicted on the figured cards of the present times.

It may be expected that we should enter somewhat more fully into the application of cards to purposes of instruction, which we

have only hinted at in a former page. The first who sought to make them subservient to this purpose was Thomas Murner,[1] a learned Minorite friar of the order of St. Francis, who flourished at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and being engaged in teaching philosophy, first at Cracovia, and afterwards at Friburg, perceived that his young pupils were disgusted with the formalities of a treatise of logic, which was placed in their hands to teach them the terms of dialectic science. He imagined a new method of exciting their attention, by composing one himself, in the manner of a game at cards, which, in the form of a pleasing recreation, engaged them to pursue the subject, and insensibly surmount the difficulties of this dry and repulsive study. So successful were his endeavours, that the extraordinary and rapid progress of his scholars caused him at first to be suspected as a magician; and, to justify himself, he was obliged to produce his new invented game, and demonstrate to the rectors of the university the means by which such wonders were effected, who not only highly approved, but applauded his invention, and admired it, as something more than human.

This game, according to Menestrier, was composed of 52 cards, on which were depicted, Bells, Crabs, Fish, Acorns, Scorpions, Turbans, Hearts, Swallows, Suns, Stars, Pigeons, Crescents, Cats, Shields, Crowns, and Serpents; but in what manner these objects were applied to the inculcation of logical rules and dialectic terms, we shall not attempt to describe; so far from simplifying the subject is it, that we doubt whether the most profound logician of the present day would comprehend it. A new edition by Balesdens was published about the middle of the succeeding century. It appears to have been a kind of system of artificial memory, ap-

[1] A curious article, under the name of Murner, will be found in *Marchand Dictionnaire Historique*, to which we have here to acknowledge our obligations. The title of his book, as there given, is erroneous; it is as follows: "*Logica memorativa Charti ludium logice sive totius dialectice memoria: & novus Petri Hyspani Textus emendatus. Cum jucundo pictasmatis exercitio: Eruditi viris f. Thome Murner Argentini: ordinis minorum theologie doctoris eximii.*" It was printed at Strasburg, by John Gruninger, in 1509, in 4to.

plied to this particular science; we have seen the same unmeaning objects used in later times for the purpose of giving a kind of locality to ideas, upon the principle of association. This has been the foundation of all the arts of memory. Erasmus, in one of his Dialogues,[1] has ridiculed these royal roads to the sciences, and seems to have had this then recent system of Murner in his eye. The success and popularity of this book gave rise at a future period to numerous applications of cards for purposes of instruction; and it is remarkable, that not only those studies which merely require sight and memory, as geography, chronology, genealogy, heraldry, mythology, and history; but also those which demand the application of thought and reasoning, have been attempted to be inculcated by these means. Logic and jurisprudence, for instance, it should seem, were the first to which the system was applied. That Murner's attempt was the model upon which all subsequent ones were founded, cannot be doubted, and the number of games which were published in the commencement of the seventeenth century is astonishing. We have seen the attempt renewed in our own times, and there is scarcely a branch of juvenile education which has not been thus treated; but it is doubtful whether any advantage is derived from this playful mode of instruction: is it not apt to diminish the disposition for serious application, so necessary, but so rarely found in youth?

Des Marets, of the French Academy, composed three or four games of this kind; "Le Jeu des Rois de France." "Des Dames renommées." "Des Metamorphoses;" and "De la Geographie." M. De Brianville published a set of Heraldic Cards at Lyons, in the form of a small duodecimo volume, in 1660;[2] and as he com-

[1] *Ars Notoria* Erasmi Colloquia. *Lugd. Bat.* ap *Elzeviros*, 1636, *p.* 569. "*Erasm.* Audio Artem esse quamdam notoriam, quæ hæc præstet, ut Homo, minimo negotio perdiscat omnes disciplinas liberales. *Des.* Quid audio? vidisti codicem. *Erasm.* Varias animantium forma, draconum, leonum Leopardorum, varios-que circulos, & in his descriptas voces partim Græcas, partim Latinas, partim Hebraicas, aliosque Barbaricarum linguarum."——"*Des.* Ego aliam artem non novi, quam curam amorem, & assiduitatem."

[2] Jeu de Cartes du Blason, imprimé a Lyon chez Ben. Coral en 1660. 16mo.

posed his game of the arms of the sovereign princes of the north, of Italy, Spain, and of France, some of the arms by design or chance were distributed on the Knaves, which gave great umbrage to those who were so scurvily treated: the poor unfortunate contriver of the cards was persecuted, his plates seized by the magistrates, and he was obliged to conciliate favour, by changing his Knaves into Princes and Knights. Mr. Haslewood has a pack of heraldic cards published in England about the close of the seventeenth century;[1] and Mr. Boswell, who had seen a similar set, remarked to us, that there might be an unlucky appropriation of the Knaves in such an arrangement. We were not then aware of this story of Brianville.

In 1678 Anthony Bulifon, a Lyons bookseller, established himself at Naples, and published these cards, with the descriptions translated into Italian. A society of young men, who assembled weekly at his house, formed themselves into an Academy, taking their designation from these cards, and calling themselves *Academici Armoristi.*

In 1682 D. Casimir Freschet presented to the Doge and Senate of Venice a pack of Cards, with the arms of the nobles of Venice, published under the title of *Li Pregi della Nobilta Veneta abozzati in un Giuoco d'Arme di tutte le Famiglie,* acknowledging in his preface that they were formed upon the model of the heraldic cards of Brianville.

In 1650 Pére Guichet, a Minorite, published an Art of Logic, in the form of a game at cards.[2] Whether this was a reimpression of Murner's book, or a new one on the same model, we know not. Menestrier himself published in 1690 an heraldic game at cards;[3]

[1] In the *Observator*, No. 239, for February 12, $168\frac{6}{7}$, is the following advertisement: "Cards, containing the arms of the kings, and all the lords spiritual and temporal of England. Printed for John Nicholson, and sold by E. Evets at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church Yard."

[2] "Ars ratiocinandi lepida, multarum Imaginum Festivitate contexta, totius Logices fundamenta complectens in Charti Ludium redacta a Patre Guischet Ordinis Minorum." Salmurii, Harnault, 1650. 4to.

[3] "Jeu de Cartes du Blason contenant les Armes des Princes des principales par-

indeed the good Jesuit seems so enchanted with these ingenious card devices, that he thinks no other game affords such means of blending amusement with instruction.

The idea, however, may perhaps have arisen from the application of the game of chess to inculcate a system of morals, in the hands of Jacopo da Ciesole, and other early writers. But chess itself is not the only game which has been moralized, for the chace has been also made subservient to the purpose of teaching the commandments of the divine law, and the eschewing of the seven deadly sins in an ancient French moralization, called "*Le Livre du Roy Modus.*"[1] Arithmetic and geometry had long before been taught by a species of game at chess, and it is probable that Murner derived his idea from some of these sources. A treatise on morals, discipline, and conversation, in the form of a game at cards, is referred to by Echard, as existing among the Imperial MSS. at Vienna, but he does not mention the date of it.[2]

It will not be necessary that we should enter into a particular description of the packs of satirical cards which have occurred to us; they are not very numerous, and have but remote relation to our subject, for they may be considered rather as a series of prints than cards,

ties de l'Europe, par le Pere C. F. Menestrier. Lyon, Amaulry, 1692." 12mo.

[1] "Le Livre du Roy Modus & de la Royne Ratio, lequel fait mention comment on doit deviser de toutes manieres de Chasse, &c. Chambery imprimé par Antoine Neyret, 1486." folio. To judge by the title, this work would seem to relate simply to Hunting, Hawking, &c. but some of the manuscript copies give in a more ample rubric a notion of its nature; thus, "Le Livre du Roy Modus, qui, sous les termes de la Chasse des Bestes de toute espéce moralise les dites Bestes, les dix Commandemens de la loy, les sept Pechés mortels, &c. Et parle de Dieu le Pere qui envoya a son Fils la cause de Ratio et de Sathan, et de Dieu le Fils, qui jugea contre Sathan; du St. Esprit qui determina les ames du monde, et la chair a Sathan; de la Bataille des Vices et des Vertus; du Roy d'Orgueil, qui fit defier le Roy Modus; du Songe de Pestilence, &c."

Marchand says this work resembles the *Belial*, or *processus seu consolatio Peccatorum*, which the reader may find analysed in Mr. Dibdin's Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. 3, p. 182, &c.

Another French work is cited by Marchand, in which Christ's Passion is moralized, and applied to the chace of the stag.

[2] Joannis Teutonus Tractatus de Moribus & Disciplina Humanæ Conversationis, Chartarum Lusum VI. Capitibus exponens. *Echardi de Scriptor. Ecclesiasticis. T.* ii. *p.* 821.

and the form of a pack of cards was only a commodious and popular mode of arrangement. It is questionable whether they were used for the purpose of playing, though marked with the suits and extending to the usual number of a pack of playing cards. Those we have seen have been a series of projects, intended as a satire upon the South Sea bubble, and another of the events previous and subsequent to the Revolution of 1688, in which the catholic James and his Queen are severely satirized. Another pack is referred to in the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, as having been exhibited to the Society by Sir Joseph Banks in 173¾: they contained a kind of history of the Spanish Invasion.

There were, no doubt, numerous sets of prints of this kind published at various periods of the last and preceding century, but these are all that have come under our notice.

It has been already observed, that it is difficult to decide whether we obtained our cards immediately from France, and at what period they first reached us: to settle the period at which they were first made in England is not less difficult. The year 1465 is the earliest date at which we find any express public notice of cards, and it is remarkable that it should be in some measure a kind of act to prohibit their importation: this circumstance seems to point to their being already manufactured here; but Mr. Barrington[1] gathers from a Proclamation of Elizabeth, and another, of her successor, that we did not then make many cards in England. He also says, "there is little doubt but that the cards used during the reign of Philip and Mary, and probably the more early part of Elizabeth, were Spanish, though they were afterwards changed for the French, being of a more simple figure, and more easily imported." Mr. Barrington was furnished by Mr. Astle with a curious old block of wood, upon which was engraved the cover of a pack of cards, and

[1] Archæologia. Vol. viii. p. 141. The proclamations he cites are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.

as this block has by good fortune fallen into our hands, we shall subjoin an impression of it.

Mr. Barrington read the name inscribed on this block erroneously, *Cartas finnas faictes par Je Hauvola y Edward Warman;* whereas it evidently appears *Jehan Volay* was meant, although the words from the carelessness of the Engraver are somewhat disjointed.

" The first words of the inscription, says Mr. B., *viz. Cartas finnas (superfine Cards)* are Spanish, which are followed by two of French, *viz. faictes par* (or *made by) Jean Hauvola y*, (y is generally used in Spanish for the conjunction *and)* and the two last words, *viz. Edward Warman*, were not in the block of wood when first cut into."

He continues, " now I conceive that this advertisement was used by a card-maker resident in France, who notified the wares he had to sell in the Spanish terms of *Cartas finnas*, because those that had been made in Spain, at that time were in great vogue. The two words which follow are French, *faictes par*, which were probably in that language, that the French reader might more readily understand the advertisement."—" But this is not the whole that may be inferred from this curious cover, for at each corner are the figures from which the four suits of cards are denominated in Spain, *viz. Cups*, *Swords*, *Clubs*, and *pieces of Money*, whilst at the top are the arms of Castile and Leon. It seems fairly therefore to be inferred from the superscription on this cover, that cards could not be then disposed of to advantage in France, unless there was some appearance of their having been originally brought from Spain."

Mr. Gough[1] observes, " that this cover contains a motley inscription of Spanish and French, intermixed," which he conceives is to be read thus:

Cartas finnas
faictes par
Jehan Volay

" The insertion of *Edward Warman's* name in so very different a type, is a proof that he was the vender of such cards in a far later period. Upon inquiry I am informed, by my friend Mr Herbert, that a person of the name of Warman kept a stationer's shop somewhere in Bishopsgate-street, or Norton Falgate, about fifty years ago, and it is not improbable that he sold these cards, and caused this insertion to be made in the block. Mr. Herbert could not recollect his christian name. If I am not mistaken (continues Mr. G.) this extraordinary block once belonged to Mr. Ames, who has, however, taken no notice of it in his History of Printing."

It appears to us that it may not be impossible this block is of English manufacture, and only intended to convey a notion, that the cards which it enveloped were foreign, in order to obtain a

[1] Archæologia. Vol. viii. p. 168*.

J. Swaine Sc.

Old English Cards.

higher price for them, if they were held in greater esteem; and the jumble of French and Spanish together in the inscription upon it, gives colour to this supposition. That Spanish cards were an object of curiosity at the commencement of the last century, and brought a high price, compared with the current value of English cards, we ascertain from the advertisement beneath;[1] at the same time it shews that at this period, at least, the Spanish cards were different from ours, and consequently not in common use.

Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, patents were so frequently granted, by favour, that the House of Commons deemed it necessary to make some inquiries respecting them; at this period, among numerous others, a patent was granted to Edward Darcy[2] for cards.

This patent of Darcy's for making cards is in the Society of Antiquaries' library, where there is a prohibition against their future importation into England after July 20, 1615; as the art of making them was then brought to perfection in this country. There is also

[1] *ADVERTISEMENT.*

"Spanish Cards, lately brought from Vigo. Being pleasant to the eye by their curious colours and quite different from ours, may be had at 1s. a pack at Mrs. Baldwins in Warwick Lane." *Post-Man. Dec.* 12—15. 1702.

For this, and some subsequent extracts from old newspapers, we are indebted to Mr. Haslewood, a gentleman whose zeal and perseverance in the investigation of our literary antiquities, can only be exceeded by the liberality with which he communicates the results of his researches to those engaged in similar pursuits, on all occasions.

[2] "On the mention of the monopoly of cards, Sir Walter Raleigh blushed. Upon reading the patents, Mr. Hakewell of Lincoln's Inn, stood up, and asked thus; Is not bread there? Bread! quoth one; Bread! quoth another; This voice seems strange, quoth another. No, quoth Mr. Hacket, if order be not taken herein, bread will be there before the next Parliament."

Among the Patents enumerated on this occasion were the following, besides this of Darcy's.

To John Spelman, a patent to make paper.

To Richard Watkins and James Roberts, a licence to print almanacks.

To Richard Wrighte, to print the History of Cornelius Tacitus.

To John Norden, to print Speculum Britanniæ.

To Sir Henry Singer, touching the printing of school bookes.

To Thomas Morley, to print Songes in three parts.

To Thomas Wight and Bonham Norton, to print law bookes.

V. Herbert's Ames, vol. 3. p. 1764.

the Lord Treasurer's letter for 5*s.* to be paid to him for every gross of cards, dated October 29, 1615.

At this period, therefore, it is probable the block in question may have been fabricated, for the prejudice of many might still lean to the foreign cards: it has frequently been found that a prohibition was tantamount to a strong recommendation, and the pertinacity with which some contraband articles of foreign manufacture are still sought, and purchased without any solid reason for the preference, is a striking exemplification of this.

It seems indeed strange that an article which required so little skill in its construction, should have so long been received at the hands of foreigners; it certainly was not that we wanted artists competent to the task of fabricating them in a very superior manner, for we have evidence that the art of engraving on wood was exercised here with considerable success long before.

An engraver on wood seems to have been an indispensable personage in every printing-office, for the books of our early printers, like those of their cotemporaries on the continent, are full of wood-cuts: we have only to instance the Chronicles of Holingshed and Fox's Martyrs. It was not until the latter part of the sixteenth century that engravings on copper were used as embellishments for books in England. We gather from the advertisement prefixed to Sir John Harington's translation of Orlando Furioso, that it is one of the earliest books in which copper-plate prints are to be found. We cannot resist the temptation of presenting the reader with a facsimile of a spirited and interesting wood-cut, serving as a frontispiece to Recorde's Ground of Artes,[1] and which has a further claim to our

[1] "The groũd of artes teachyng the worke and practice of Arithmetike, moch necessary for all states of men. After a more easyer & exacter sorte, then any lyke hath hytherto ben set forth: with dyuers newe additions, as by the table doth partly appeare. By Robert Recorde." On the reverse of the title are the following quaint lines.

The bokys verdicte.

To please, or dysplease, sure I am,
But not of one sorte, to euery man
To please the beste sorte wold I fayne
The frowarde to dysplease I am certaine.

Imprynted at London in Powls Church yarde at the sygne of the Brazen Serpent by R. Wolfe. 1543. 8vo.

notice, from the circumstance of furnishing us with the name of the artist, who will be confessed to have well understood his art. We are informed the cut was used in a Flemish book of the same period.

It affords also an exhibition of the mode of playing the Rithmomachia, or philosopher's game, or the method of teaching arithmetic by counters, and is altogether one of those interesting representations of domestic life, which the tasteful antiquary knows how to appreciate. One of the standing figures has no remote resemblance to some of the effigies of Erasmus.

Holbein, it is well known, designed many of these wood cut embellishments for books, and the influence of his example ought to have had a more extensive operation in improving the art among us: but it must be confessed, that instances of tolerable design, or careful execution, are somewhat rare among the xylographical productions of this country at that period.

That the cards then in use were not very superb performances, whether of foreign or English manufacture, may be concluded from the price they were sold at, which we find specified in a very curious passage of Roger Ascham's Toxophilus,[1] first printed in 1545.

[1] A man no shoter, (not longe agoo) wolde defende playing at cardes & dise, if it were honestly used, to be as honest a pastime as youre shotinge: for he layed for him, that a man might pleye for a litle at cardes and dyse, and also a man might shote away all that euer he had. He sayd a payre of cardes cost not past ii.d. and that

The prohibition of foreign cards probably operated a change in the condition of the English card-makers; their numbers seem in a short time to have much increased, so that in the year 1629 they were of sufficient consideration to be associated into a company, for the establishing of which letters patent were granted by Charles I.[1] but whether they were less skilful than their foreign competitors, or whether the cards imported from abroad were furnished at a cheaper rate, or perhaps preferred by the consumer from some capricious reason, it does not seem that they were enabled to stand their ground against them for a very long period. During the puritanical times which succeeded the fall of Charles, times of turbulence and trouble, it could not be expected that a very large demand for them would be made; but there can be no doubt that when the nation became settled under the government of the gay and dissipated court of Charles the Second, they were in considerable request; yet in defiance of the statutes, which were perhaps not severely enforced against the importation of them, they were still brought in and exposed publicly for sale, so that the poor card-makers were reduced to the necessity of again requesting the interference of the government in the latter part of his reign.

they neded not so moche reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his hande, nor neuer weare his gere. A man shulde neuer slee a man with shoting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and coulde, they woulde neuer forsake a man, he shewed what great varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitie: If one game were harde, he myght easelye learne another: If a man haue a good game there is greate pleasure in it: If he haue an ill game, the payne is shorte, for he may soone gyue it ouer, and hope for a better: with many other mo reasons. But at the last he concluded, that betwixt playinge and shoting, well used, or ill used there was no difference: but that there was lesse coste and trouble, and a greate deale more pleasure in playing, then in shotynge.

Ascham's Toxophilus, Lond. 1545. *Sig. D. iiii. recto.*

[1] The Company of Cardmakers was incorporated by Letters Patent of Charles the First, the 22d of October, 1629, under the title of The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Mistery of the Makers of Playing-Cards of the City of London. *Rec. Roll. Pat.* 4. *Car. I. p.* 22. *No.* 6.

This Corporation, says Maitland, is governed by a master, two wardens, and eighteen assistants; but have neither livery nor hall to transact their affairs in.

History of London, p. 603. *Ed.* 1739, *fol.*

In consequence of a Petition from the Company of Card-makers, a proclamation was issued at the close of the year 1684, for the strict observance of the laws in force against the importation of foreign playing cards, directing the seizure of them wherever they might be found.[1] And the company, for the better co-operation with government, at the same time established an office for sealing all playing cards of English make, and regulating the price at which they were to be sold; stating, in their advertisements,[1] that many

[1] *Whitehall, Nov.* 20.

His Majesty has been pleased to cause a proclamation to be published, prohibiting the importation of foreign playing-cards, and for seizing such as are or shall be imported.

Charles R.

Whereas by the laws and statutes of this realm, all foreign playing cards (amongst divers other foreign manufactures) are prohibited to be imported, under penalty of forfeiture; Yet notwithstanding, as We are given to understand by the humble petition of the master, wardens, and assistants of the company of card-makers of London, divers of our subjects and others, are so hardy, to bring into this kingdom great quantities of foreign playing-cards, and publicly to expose the same to sale, in contempt of Us and Our laws, and to the great impoverishment of the poor artificers of the said company, and other our subjects employed in making the said manufacture; We, taking the same into Our serious consideration, and being desirous in this particular, as We always hitherto have been, in the whole course of Our government, to encourage manufactures within this Our kingdom wherein Our subjects are maintained in good estate, and trade increased, are graciously pleased, with the advice of Our privy council, by this Our Royal Proclamation, to command and direct, that all laws now in force, prohibiting the importation of any foreign playing cards, be duely put in execution by all Our officers and other persons concerned: And that all foreign playing cards already imported, be forthwith searched for, seized and condemned, and all such as make resistance therein, proceeded against according to the utmost rigour of the law: Hereby strictly commanding and requiring all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bayliffs, constables, and other offices whatsoever, to be from time to time aiding and assisting in all things requisite for and touching the due observation and execution of the said laws, and of this Our Royal Proclamation, at their perils. Given at our court at Whitehall the seventh day of November, 1684. In the six and thirtieth year of our reign.—*Gazette, Nov.* 27—*Dec.* 1, 1684.

[1] Advertisement.—These are to give notice, That for the better encouragement of the manufacture of making playing cards in England, and for the preventing the importation of foreign cards, an office is erected in Silver Street in Bloomsbury, pursuant to his Majesties Letters Patents, for sealing all playing cards of English make. The price will be put upon each pack. At this office they will be sold as well by retail as wholesale.

Gazette, April 21—24, 1684.

All persons concerned are desired to

hundred poor people were employed in the fabrication of them, who were deprived of the means of earning their existence by the contraband introduction of the foreign cards.

In the succeeding year the company announced, by public advertisement, that they had appointed a surveyor who was to examine the quality of the cards previous to sealing; asserting that the cards so approved and sealed, were far superior to those usually made previous to the establishment of the office; and in the same year are various announcements in the papers of the times for the sale of large quantities of these improved cards, apparently intended for exportation; it will appear by the advertisements beneath,[1] that they were afforded at very moderate prices.

take notice, that for the better encouragement of the manufacture of making of playing cards in England, (wherein many hundred poor people are employed) by directions of his Majesties Letters Patents (pursuant to charters and directions of the late King James and King Charles) an office is erected in Silver Street, in Bloomsbury, for sealing all playing cards of English make (which will be there first surveyed) that the frauds practised in the making of English cards may be prevented, and the foreign cards (which are brought in contrary to law) may be discovered. The price of all cards will be put upon each pack, to the end that none under pretence of sealing the cards, may sell the same at dearer rates, and it will thereby appear, that the very best cards shall be sold in London by the last retailer, at four pence the pack, and others at cheaper rates.—*Ib. Ap.* 28—*May* 1, 1684.

The last advertisement is repeated three or four times in the Gazette, without alteration, within a short period after the above date.

[1] Advertisement. These are to give notice, That at the Card Office in Silver-street, in Bloomsbury, all sorts of playing cards surveyed and sealed, are to be sold at reasonable rates, which Robert Whitfield, Master Card-maker, appointed by approbation of the Company of Card-makers, to be surveyor of the same, has certified under his hand to be much better in their several sorts, than any of like sorts usually made and sold by the card-makers of London, before the erection of the said office. *Gazette, May* 28, *June* 1, 1685, and repeated in the following Gazette.

Advertisement. These are to give notice, That there will be exposed to sale, in a short time, by inch of candle, all sorts of playing cards, surveyed by Robert Whitfield, Master Card-maker, appointed by approbation of the Company of Card-makers for that purpose, who hath certified under his hand, that the said cards are much better in their several kinds than any of the like sorts heretofore usually made and sold. A further account will be given of the lots and prizes and place of sale in a few days.—*Gazette, June* 29—*July* 2, 1685, and in following Gazette.

Advertisement. There will be exposed to sale by the candle at the Marine and

It should appear that the right of importing foreign cards was among the monopolies of government in the reign of Elizabeth, at least it is asserted that this was the case by an anonymous writer,[1] who has not given any proof of his assertion; but it is somewhat corroborated by the letter of the Lord Treasurer, mentioned in a former page, in which he claims five shillings for every gross of cards imported.

The Spanish government, we are informed, still monopolize the manufacture of them. Cards have long ceased to be imported from abroad, the superiority of those manufactured in England at length triumphed over all competition of this kind; and we now manufacture immense quantities for the foreign market, many of them have the suits common to the Italians and Spaniards, and those intended for the Spanish settlements, are marked as being *de la real fabrica, de Madrid, para las Indias.*[2] The heavy duty which cards intended for home consumption now bear, and the numbers annually consumed, make them no mean source of revenue to government.

We shall here take leave of this part of our subject, which, from its connection with the history of one of the most important arts

Carolina Coffee-house in Birchin Lane near the Royal Exchange, on Wednesday the 12th of August next, at eight of the clock in the forenoon, all sorts of playing cards in small lots, surveyed by Robert Whitfield, master card-maker, appointed by approbation of the company of card-makers, for that purpose, who hath certified under his hand that the said cards are much better in their several kinds than any of the like sorts heretofore usually made and sold. The prises, viz. the mattriss at 10*s.* 6*d.* per gross, fine mattrisses at 12*s.* per gross, fines at 16*s.* per gross, and the superfines at 21*s.* per gross: the bidder to advance 6*d.* per gross upon each bidding. They are to be seen from eight to twelve in the forenoon, and from three to seven in the afternoon, from Thursday the 16th of this instant July, to the day of sale, next door below the Dog Tavern in Bow-lane.

The particulars of the several lots may be had at Adiel Mills house, at the Peacock at Amen-corner, and at John Matthias Owen's at the White-Hart in Bread-street, and at Edward Durel's, at the Peacock in Paternoster Row, London.

Gazette, July 16—20, *and* 23—27, *and Aug.* 3—6.

[1] Naval History of Great Britain, 1779, 8vo.

[2] We have one pack of this kind manufactured in England: upon the four of *Dineros* is inscribed, "*Cartas finissimos, de la Real fabrica de Madrid, por Juan Solesio y Hijos,* 1804.

devised by the ingenuity of man, derives a degree of interest which abstractedly it could not have possessed.

Whatever may have been the origin of cards, it seems at least probable that they were in use in Europe previous to the invention or adoption of the xylographic art, whose origin is involved in the same obscurity which envelopes that of printing. At what time the application of xylography to the purpose of multiplying cards took place, it is not now possible to ascertain with certainty; but there can be no doubt that they were among the first objects it produced, and we have every reason to conclude that they were printed from engraved blocks of wood, at least as early as the commencement of the fourteenth century, if they were not derived together with this art from the eastern world at an earlier period; a supposition which is not entirely devoid of probability.

SECTION THE THIRD.

ON SOME OF

THE PRINCIPAL GAMES AT CARDS.

GENERA VERO LUDENDI CHARTIS MULTO SUNT INTRICATORIA, ADEO, UT QUIS STELLAS POTIUS NUMERARE POSSIT, QUAM ISTA LUSUUM GENERA SIQUIDEM NULLUS FERME PAGUS TAM OBSCURUS EST, QUI NON CERTUM SIBI LUDENDI GENUS IN CHARTIS FINXERIT.

Lehmannus de variis Ludendi generibus, Budissæ, 1680, 4*to. p.* 49.

ON

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL GAMES

AT

CARDS.

S Chess is allowed to be symbolical of war, and cards are in all probability derived from an extension of the pieces in that game, we might naturally expect that the earliest game played with them would be an emblem of a warlike combat. We have in vain endeavoured to trace this early game, which must have been very simple in its construction, and obtained at the time cards were first brought from the East; there can be no doubt that those European games which bear marks of military origin, as *Ombre*, *Quadrille*, and *Lansquenet*, were derived from it. Every game indeed may be considered a species of combat, but cards have more particularly the appearance of a military origin; kings, knights, squires, and common soldiers, constitute the pack, and it is generally admitted that the introduction of the queen into the game is attributable to the gallantry of the French nation, at a comparatively late period.

In the seventeenth century a game was commonly played with cards in France called "*Le Jeu de la Guerre*,"[1] which from its simplicity might have been continued by tradition from the first simple oriental game. It was played with a piquet pack, with the addition of four other cards to which the names were given of *Strength*, *Death*,

[1] This game is fully described in "*La Maison des Jeux Academiques*," printed at Paris in 1668. 12mo.

the General, and *the Prisoner of War*: it might be played by two or more persons; the king was the highest card, the next was the queen, then the card called the general, the prisoner was next in order, and the knaves followed, the aces were of less value; upon the ace of spades was represented a cannoneer; upon that of clubs a soldier with a drawn sword, designating the infantry; that of diamonds a battalion; and the ace of hearts represented the cavalry. To enter further into detail of the manner it was played would be useless; we shall merely remark, that it was more a game of chance than skill.

The suits retained on the Spanish and Italian cards to the present day, and which were formerly called the *Trappola* suits, sufficiently designate that the game was in its origin military, and we have seen that a Spanish writer[1] of the sixteenth century has explained their allusion to war: these suits we have good reason to suppose were also upon the cards first brought from the East, for one or two of them are still to be found among those on the modern Hindoo cards.

LANSQUENET.

The German game of *Lansquenet*,[2] which, as has been before observed, betrays its military origin in its name, is a mere game of

[1] Cobarruvias, in his *Tesoro della Lengua Castellana*, v. page 39, ante.

[2] Lansquenet, which is a kind of *Basset* or *Pharo* under another name, (says Bettinelli), was much in use at Paris and Versailles in the last century. It was prohibited with other games of hazard in France, Germany, and Italy.—*Notes to the second canto of his poem upon cards before cited.*

Bullet, in his book on cards, has an article respecting this game, which he mentions with a few others because they afford him an opportunity of producing a few of his Celtic etymologies, some of which are sufficiently ingenious: the following are annexed to this article. "*Land* allemand, vient evidemnent du celtique: *Lan* Sol, terrein terre.—*Knecht* signifie enfant garçon valet, domestique, serf. La premiere de ces significations aura attiré les autres. Nous voyons effectivement que dans toutes les langues, on a étendu le terme qui désigne Enfant, à signifier Valet, domestique. *Nahhar* en Hebrew, Enfant Valet *Païs Païdion* en Grec, Enfant, Valet. *Puer* en Latin Enfant, Valet. Mozo en Espagnol, Enfant, Valet. *Garçon* en François, Enfant, Valet. *Cen* pronocez *Ken*, en Celtique, Engendrer: *Kenet* Enfant: de la *Knecht* dans la langue Allemande."—*Recherches*, p. 152.

Carabin, a term at this game to designate an occasional player, who just takes the chance of a card or two and then ceases

chance, as played of late years; but it is possible that the old German game differed from the modern one. De Murr has asserted that it was known in France as well as Germany as early as the year 1392, but he has not given his authority for the fact.[3] The following interesting wood cut, by Antony of Worms, represents two of these *Lanzen Knecht* at play at this game, or *Trappola*.

to play, Bullet says, was so called from a kind of horseman, in the times of Hen. IV. and Louis XIII. armed with carbines, who annoyed the enemy by firing at them and immediately retiring. Another term, *Porter un Mommon*, at this game he has derived from *momerie masque*, mascarade, which he says all come from *mamua*, *momua*, in Celtic a mask!!

[1] *Brietkopf Ursprung der Spielkarten*, 1 *Th.* p. 36.

TRAPPOLA.

Trappola,[1] which is probably the most ancient European game at cards, was played with *thirty-six* cards, of which number we have already observed the earliest packs only consisted. As at the game of piquet, there were no *deuces*, *treys*, *fours*, and *fives*, in the pack. Nine cards were dealt to each player, which, if four played, consumed the whole thirty-six; but if two only played, eighteen cards would remain in the stock. We much regret that we have been unable to trace any description of the manner in which this game was played, as it would, no doubt, throw light upon the nature of the games obtained from the East: and tend to settle the point whether it was a game of chance or skill.

TAROCCO.

The reader is already apprised that we consider this complex game as of Eastern origin, but it must not be concealed that Italian writers, for the most part, deem it an invention peculiar to Italy. Baretti[2] exults in the superiority of Tarocco and *Minchiate*, over the national games of France, Spain, and England, and thinks they rank as much above *Piquet*, *Ombre*, and *Whist*, as *Chess* does above *Polish Drafts*. He says that *Tarocco* is played in many parts of Italy, but is chiefly prevalent in Piedmont and Lombardy. The pack of cards with which *Tarocco* is played, consists of two parts; the first is fifty-six cards of the usual Italian suits, *Spade*, *Coppe*, *Bastoni*, and *Denari*; in each of these suits there are ten numerical cards, and *King*, *Queen*, *Knight*, and *Knave*: the cards of this part of the pack, excepting the four kings, are called *Cartacce*. The other part consists of twenty-two cards, and will be found copied in three plates which accompany this

[1] *Trappola*, a kind of game at cards, says Florio, in his *World of Words*, 1611. fol.

[2] Manners and Customs of Italy, vol. ii. p. 217. London, 1768. 8vo.

work, twenty-one of these are called *Tarocchi*,[1] and the twenty-second *Il Matto*, or the fool. The *Tarocchi* are numbered, and their names are engraved beneath them, but as we have copied from a pack fabricated in France or Germany, it may be as well to mention that we have enumerated them by their Italian appellations, in a note at page 23. These cards, according to[2] Baretti, are called *i Trionfi*, and he says that "both this game and *Minchiate* may be played by only two, or only three people in several ways; but the most ingenious games, and those which are the most in use, are played by four people, more especially one which is played by one against three, much after the ruling principle of *Ombre*, and another played two against two, not unlike *whist*." In a curious little French book,[3] of games published in 1668, which we shall have frequent occasion to quote, it is remarked, that the Swiss and Germans prefer *Tarocco* to any other game; and that the reason it was not earlier known in France was, that the French are apt to be contented with the abridgment of every thing, and that few persons were acquainted with the method of playing it. After describing the cards, the author mentions various methods of playing with them, we shall content ourselves with describing one or two of these games. That which he calls *Triomphe forcée*, may be played at by any number of persons from two upwards; five cards are dealt to each person, and he who is fortunate enough to hold the *fool*, or the *juggler*, takes up what he has staked upon the game. He who holds the card named strength, or *La Force*, takes up twice as much; and if Death, *(La Mort)* falls to his lot, he ultimately sweeps the board in spite of all attempts to prevent it. If any one hold either of the cards above mentioned, and has with-

[1] Tarocchi *a voce* ταραῶχοι, *qua denotantur sodales illi, qui cibi caussâ ad lusum conveniunt. hæc Alciat.* Monosini Florio Italicæ Ling. Venet. 1608. p. 34.

Tarocchi, a kind of playing-cards, called Taroks or Terrestrial Trumps.—*Florio in Voce.*

[2] The whole of Baretti's short chapter on cards will be found in the Appendix.

[3] *La Maison des Jeux Academiques contenant un recueil general de tous les jeux divertissans pour se réjoüir & passer le temps agréablement, augmentée de la Loterie plaisante, à Paris, chez Etienne Loyson,* 1668. 12mo.

drawn what he is entitled to from the board, he still continues playing for the remaining stake, and he who makes the most tricks gains it.

" With these cards the Swiss play a three-handed game, in which all the cards but three are dealt, which the dealer takes into his hand, and discards three inferior cards in their room: the game is made to consist in three deals, at the termination of which, he who has made the most points wins. The cards have each of them a certain numerical value; thus *le Monde*, the world, is *five;* the *Juggler*, and the four kings, *five* each; the queens *five* each, and so on. The fool counts for three, and has the privileges of being never taken, nor does he take any other card, but when a card of higher value is played upon him, a substitute is taken from the tricks or cards won by the holder, and he is made to supply its place; he is of all suits, and therefore may be played in any case of difficulty or danger, when he is said to serve for an excuse." These descriptions are somewhat too brief to be entirely intelligible, we shall therefore describe another game played with these cards, with which *Court de Gebelin* supplies us, who obtained it from a friend well acquainted with the game.

Two persons only play, but *three* hands are dealt, the cards are distributed five at a time, each player holds twenty-five cards, twenty-five are in the third parcel, or *corps de reserve*, and *three* are left, which the dealer may take in, discarding three others as before described. The *Tarocchi*, which *Gebelin* calls *les Atous*, are not all of the same numerical value, *L'Estoile*, *No.* XVII, *La Lune* XVIII, *Le Soleil* XIX, *Le Jugement* XX, *Le Monde* XXI, are called the five great *Atous*: and the first five numbers, viz. *Le Bateleur*, *La Papesse*, *L'Imperatrice*, *L'Empereur*, and *Le Pape*, are called the little *Atous*. If a player has three of the greater, or three of the lesser, he counts five points; if he has four he counts *ten*: and fifteen if he has five of either of them. Ten of these *Atous*, or *Tarocchi*, in a hand, count for ten points more. Thirteen of them are equivalent to fifteen points, independent of their other combinations. Seven cards

in this game are called *Tarots par excellence*, viz. *Le Monde* XXI, *Le Mat*, or fool: the Juggler, or *Bateleur* I. and the four kings. Any one having two out of the three first of these, says to his antagonist, *qui ne l'a*; and if he cannot answer him by shewing the third of them, he who asks the question marks five points; and should he have all the three he makes fifteen: sequences, or flushes of four cards, mark five points.

The fool takes nothing, nothing can take him; he is one of the *Atous*, and is considered to be of every suit. If a king is played, and you have not the queen to form a sequence, you play the *fool*, and this is called an *excuse*. The fool, with two kings, counts five points; with three kings fifteen points. A king taken, or killed, marks five points for him who takes him. If the *Pagad* or Juggler is taken, the party taking him also marks five points. The principal drift of the game is to take from your adversary the cards which are of the highest numerical value, and to do all in your power to form sequences: the chief point for the adverse party to attend to is to save his high figured cards, and to endeavour to draw them from the other player's hand, by making slight sacrifices of minor cards. The dealer for whom the discarded cards count, is not allowed to throw out *Atous* or kings; he would by this means have too great an advantage, in saving himself from the risk of play. All that he is allowed to do is to discard a sequence, which will count for him, and may form him a *renounce*, which will be a double advantage.

The game is generally one hundred, as at Piquet, with this difference, that it is not he who first arrives at one hundred, when a game is begun, who wins, but he who can then reckon the greatest number of points. To count the points which you may hold in your hand each of the seven *Tarocchi nobili* before named with a common numerical card marks 5 points. The Queen and one card marks 4; the Knight and one card marks 3; the Knave and one, 6; two common cards together, 1: this is in shewing. The number of points which one player has above the other are all that reckon for

him, and the cards are played until the one or the other arrive at one hundred, or till the game is finished.

The reader is already apprized that this game was in use in Italy at a very early period of the sixteenth century, and that it has been treated as an invention of that country by many writers who have mentioned it. There seems quite as much reason, however, to attribute it to the eastern world; and we have remarked that the modern Hindoo cards appear to be of the *Tarocco* kind.

We gather from the following passage in Cleland's Institution of a nobleman,[1] that *Tarocco* was played in England in the early part of the reign of James I. *Chap.* 24, *of House Games.* "His Majesties permission of honest house games, as Cardes, French Cardes, called *Taraux*, Tables and such like plaies, is sufficient to protect you from the blame of those learned men, who think them hazards; as for myself, I thinke it great simplicitie and rusticitie in a nobleman to be ignorant of any of them, when he cometh into companie: yea I would wish you to be so perfit in them all, that you may not be deceived or cousened at play."

MINCHIATE.

Minchiate is chiefly in vogue all over Tuscany; it is only a different modification of *Tarocco*, in which we have seen that the Tarocchi consist of twenty-one figured cards and the Matto; while in *Minchiate* they are increased to forty and the *Matto*, which is still retained. In the latter part of the year 1803 a paper was read at the Society of Antiquaries, describing this game; it was from the pen of Robert Smith, Esq. who accompanied it with the present of a pack of Minchiate cards and a treatise on the game, which are now preserved in the archives of the Society.[2] We shall follow Mr. Smith's description, illustrating it from a very copious account of

[1] ΠΡΩ-ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ. The Institution of a Young Nobleman, by James Cleland, Lond. 1607, 4to.

[2] Archæologia, vol. xv. p. 140.

the game which occurs in the notes to the Heroi-comic Poem of *Il Malmantile Racquistato*. "There is no game on the cards, of which I have any knowledge (says Mr. Smith,) that requires closer attention, or a more ready talent for figures, or greater exercise of the memory, than this of *Minchiate*. It is held in high estimation among the fashionable circles in Tuscany, where almost every body exclaims in the language of the treatise, 'è senza dubbio il piu nobile di tutti i giuochi che siensi mai potuti inventare colle carte.'"

A minchiate pack consists of ninety-seven cards, fifty-six of which are as before, of the four ordinary suits, and are called *cartiglie* or *cartacce*: the *Tarocchi* are increased to the number of forty, and with the fool or *matto* make forty-one. Of the forty cards which compose the *tarocchi*, thirty-five are numbered, and five not numbered. On the first five of the numbered cards are coloured representations of a juggler, an empress, an emperor, a pope, and a lover wooing his mistress; a combination perhaps not wholly accidental. These are called *tarocchi nobili* or *papi*, and he who holds any of them counts for the first, *five* points, and for each of the other four, *three* points. Those cards numbered x. xiii. xx. xxviii. to xxxv. inclusive, count five points each; the remaining numbered cards, called *carte ignobili*, do not count in sequences, but take the inferior cards. The five unnumbered cards are called *Arie*, and represent *Stella*, a star; *Luna*, the moon; *Sole*, the sun; *Mondo*, the world; and *Trombe*, the trumpet. These cards will be found on the third plate of *Tarocchi* among those we have engraved; the *Trombe* is there called *Le Jugement*, and marked No. xx. They each of them count for ten points, independent of their respective powers in a *verzicola*, a species of sequence peculiar to this game, which is of greater or less value according to the quality of each card separately, and to the whole in combination. The regular *verzicola* is composed of three or more cards of the *tarocchi* in sequence, as i, ii, iii; ii, iii, iv; iii, iiii, v; or i, ii, iii, iiii; ii, iii, iv, v; i, ii, iii, iiii, v; all which are called *verzicole* of popes. The numbered cards xxviii, xxviiii, xxx, are called a *verzicola* of *tarocchi*, or of thirty; xxxi,

XXXII, XXXIII, a *verzicola di sopratrenti*, or above thirty; and XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, a *verzicola di rossi*, from the red colour of those cards. There is also a *verzicola* of *arie*, composed either of three *arie* in sequence, or of one or two *arie* in conjunction with certain of the numbered cards, as *sole*, *mondo*, and *trombe*, in which are three *arie;* or the numbered card XXXV, *stella* and *luna*, in which are but two *arie;* or XXXIIII, XXXV, and *stella*, in which there is one only. Hence the first *verzicola* of *arie*, which consists of three *arie*, counts thirty points, the second twenty-five, and the last twenty.

Besides the regular *Verzicola*, there are others called irregular *Verzicole;* and these also count according to the value of the cards composing them. Three Kings, or four Kings, form an irregular *Verzicola;* so likewise ace, *matto* and *trombe;* X, XX, XXX; XX, XXX, XL; and I, XIII, XXVIII.

The *Matto*, or fool, is the last of these figured cards, and, although not numbered, is in order No. XLI, and counts for five points: it forms no part of a *Verzicola*, and yet counts with it in all cases for a certain number of points. This card has many peculiar privileges, and seems to be one of the most important in the game; it is considered of every suit, and may at any time be played to save a trump or high card, and exchanged so as to pass again into the hand of the fortunate holder: it never takes any other card, but it is also never taken, except the player has taken no card from his adversary which he can give in exchange for it.[1] The four Kings also count for five each, and are esteemed also noble cards, *Carte nobili*, of which the *Verzicole* are formed.

The game is played by *four* persons at most, and then twenty-one cards are dealt to each: if three persons only play, twenty-five

[1] Thus the following proverbs are derived from this game. *Riuscir come il Fante ô Matto de Tarrocchi*, i. e. *che serve a nulla, che è otioso.*

To prove to be the Knave of the *Tarocchi*, viz. good for nothing, being as well left out as put in.

Servir come il nove di Tarocchi, i. e. *ad ogni cosa.* To serve as the nine at Tarocchi, viz. good at all things, nothing coming amiss, signifying in all games.—Torriano's Ital. Proverbs, p. 211. Lond. 1666. folio.

cards are dealt. As it would be next to impossible for any one to learn this game from a mere description of the operations at it, and as we may exhaust our reader's patience by dwelling longer on the minutiæ of it, we shall content ourselves with referring him to the Appendix, in which he will find the ample description of it given by the Italian writers above cited.

The origin of the term *Tarocchi* is not easily traced, for Court de Gebelin's explanation can scarcely be admitted. Breitkopf has given the following observations, which he thinks may lead to the true etymology of the word. "The French call the cards with printed or dotted backs, *Tarots;* in the articles between the French cardmakers in 1594, the *Tarotiers* are particularly mentioned as *Ouvriers qui font des Tarots.*[1]"

"The French are, perhaps, the inventors of these printed backs, which save the cardmakers the trouble of selecting pure and spotless white paper in order that no mark or spot may betray a card to the players. The *Tarocchi* must be older however, for they are so called by *Volaterrano* one hundred years before. As the French also call small ivory dice *Tarots*, which are marked with black spots on the sides, these may have first excited the idea of marking the backs of cards in this manner; the figures on many of the *Tarottées* have some resemblance to the arrangement of these spots on the dice. Specimens were not long since to be found in the pattern books of the letter-founders in the Netherlands, who furnished the cardmakers with them, and announce them by the name of *Tarottées diverses.* They were sometimes cast in moulds, and sometimes formed either of wood or wire; the fabrication of them gave occupation to the French *Ouvriers qui font des Tarots.* Hence the Dict. de Trevoux says of this word, '*Taroté, il n'a d'usage qu'en cette phrase:* '*des Cartes tarotées, pour dire des cartes marquées, imprimées de rayes noires par dessous:*' and under the phrase, 'JEU DE TAROTS; *elles ont d'ordinaires l'envers imprimé de divers compartimens.* Luscrium foliorum externorum species.' And

[1] See the *Dict. Encyclopedique, Tom.* 32. *p.* 692. *Edit. de Neufchatel.*

in the Dict. de l'Academie 'TAROTS, *sorte de Cartes à jouer, qui sont marquées d'autres figures que les notres, et dont le dos est imprimé de grisaille in compartimens.*' If the Italians, continues Breitkopf, first applied these printed backs to the new cards, it is possible that the cards derived their name from that circumstance,' &c.

"The German cardmakers call these printed backs of cards *Musirung*, probably from *opus musivum*, a mosaic, to which they have indeed some resemblance."

PRIMERO.

"I take it," says Minshew, "that it is called *Primera* because it hath the first place at the play of the cardes."[1] Cobarruvias defines

[1] *Priméra*, the game called Primero at cards. *Minshew, in voce.* The following portion of one of the Spanish and English Dialogues at the end of Minshew's Spanish Dictionary, will, in some measure, illustrate the method of playing this game in the reign of Elizabeth.

"R. Here are the cards, what shall we play at?—L. Let us play at *Loadam*.—M. It is a play of much patience.—L. Then let it be at *Trumpe*.—M. Let that be for old men.—L. At *Mount Sant*.—M. It makes my head to be in a swoune to be always counting.—L. Lesse will the play of *Chilindron* like you.—M. That is for women by the fire side.—L. It is not, but that you will not have any game of vertue but sweepe stake play.—M. Wherefore should we waste time, but that which we must pawne, let us sell our right as they say.—R. Yea, but ones substance made up, let there be no haste to lose ones money.—L. And, moreover, when they win a man's money from him, they straightway take him out of care.—M. Behold here are the cardes, let us play at *thirtie perforce*, or *Albures*, for these are good plaies.—R. I love not these but games of chiefest price, as the *Reynado*, the *three, two, and ace, still trumpe*, and other the like.—O. Now to take away all occasion of strife, I will give a meane, and let it be *Primera*.—M. You have saide very well, for it is a meane betweene extremes.—L. I take it that it is called Primera, because it hath the first place at the play at cardes.—R. Let us goe, what is the summe that we play for?—M. Two shillings stake, and eight shillings rest.—L. Then shuffle the cardes well.—O. I lift to see who shall deale, it must be a coate card; I would not be a coat with never a blanke in my purse.—R. I did lift an ace.—L. I a fower.—M. I a sixe, whereby I am the eldest hand.—O. Let the cardes come to me, for I deale them, one, two, three, fower, one, two, three, fower.—M. Passe.—R. Passe.—L. Passe.—O. I set so much.—M. I will none.—R. Ile none.—L. I must of force see it, deale the cardes.—M. Give me fower cards, Ile see as much as he sets.—R. See here my rest, let every one be in.—M. I am come to passe againe.—R. And I too.—L. I do the selfe same.—O. I sit my rest.—M. Ile see it.—R. I also.—L. I cannot give it over.—M. I

it much in the same way, and calls it a well known game at cards.[1] The author of the burlesque commentary on Berni's *Capitolo del Gioco della Primiera*, seems to have furnished *Florio* with his etymology; but the truth is, that it is so called from a situation in the game. He who holds the *prime* (primero), that is, a sequence of the best cards, and a good trump, is sure to be successful over his adversary, and hence the game has its denomination.[2]

It seems to be uncertain whether it is of Spanish or Italian origin; Mr. Barrington and Mr. Bowle[3] are of opinion that it is Spanish, but the poem of Berni affords proof that it was at least commonly played in Italy at the commencement of the sixteenth century. "To describe what Primero is, would be little less than useless, (says the Italian writer above cited) for there can scarcely be any one so ignorant as to be unacquainted with it.—The game (continues he) is played differently in different places, but it would occupy too much time to recount all its varieties. At Florence it is the custom to leave out the *sevens*, *eights*, and *nines*, keeping and *vyeing* only with the smaller cards; the *Rest*[4] is made at the second card,

was a small prime.—L. I am flush.—M. I would you were not.—L. Is this good neighbourhood?—M. Charitie well placed, doth first beginne with ones selfe.—O. I made five and fiftie, with which I win his prime.—L. I flush whereby I draw.—R. I play no more at this play.—M. Neither I at any other, for I must goe about a business that concerns me.—L. Pages take every one two shillings apiece of the winnings.—P. I pray God you may receive it a hundred fold.—P. In heaven I pray God you may finde it hanged on a hook."

[1] PRIMERA, juego de naipes bien conocido. Tomò el nombre de las quatro cartas differentes. Dixose assi por ser primero que los puntos.—*Cobarruvias.*

[2] Io per me credo che la denominatione di questo nome sia dedutto dal valore et dalla nobilita della cosa, ne per altra esser chiamata primiera che per esser prima et principessa, addir cosi, di tutti gli altri giuochi. *Capitolo del Gioco della Primera, Sig. A ii. rev.*

[3] Archæologia, Vol. VIII. pp. 133 to 151.

[4] *To set up a rest*, is a phrase which occurs in almost every poet in the times of James and Charles. It is taken from terms used at the *game of Primero*, and perhaps at other games then played. See also Supposes, by Gascoigne, A. 3. S. 2.

"This amorous cause that hangs in controversy between Domine Doctor and me, may be compared to them that play at *Primero*, of whom one peradventure shall leese a great sum of money before he win one stake; and at last, half in anger, *shall set up his rest*, win it, and after that another, and another; till at last he draw

and when the first player says *Pass*, every one is obliged to *discard*, notwithstanding any one may have an *ace* or a *six* in hand. At Venice, for example, the mode of playing may be different; in Lombardy, Naples, France, and Spain, so many countries, so many customs. But of all the modes in the world, let them be what they may, none can be superior to that of the court of Rome.—In this glorious court then, among other laudable customs, *Primero* principally flourishes; it has there its liberty, its reputation, its decorum, its full numbers and figures, and all its parts: there the *sevens*, *eights*, and *nines*, are not withdrawn; there it is allowed to discard, but not to discard both cards, after *Pass* is once said; nor can this be done with the two cards of the *Rest*, as is usual in other places. The most essential operation of this game may be called its two principal heads, the *flush* and *Primera*, and a third, derived from the first, which is called the *Point*; from these three are deduced all the varieties which daily occur at *Primero*, as the greater and lesser flush, the great and little Prime, and more or less points, which diversity gives rise to numerous controversies, and a thousand disputable points.—Another not less excellent operation in this game is, that four cards of one sort, as four court cards, four aces, &c. conquer both the *flush* and *Primera*."[1]

the most part of the money to his heap: the other by little and little, still diminishing his rest till," &c.

In the prologue to *Return from Pernassus*,

"Gentlemen, you that can play at *noddy*, or rather play upon noddies, you can *set up a rest at primero*, instead of a rest laugh," &c.

"Resto, lo que el jugador tiene en la tabla delante de si consignando que no lo puede sacar della; – *Jugar a resto abierto*, vale sin tassa." Cobarruvias.

[1] Il dichiarare che cosa sia primiera, non sendo cosi grosso huomo che non ne sappia, sarebbe cosa piu tosto disutile che altrimenti, e la intention nostra e di dir solamente cose piacevoli e fruttuose. In diversi luoghi diversamente e adoperato questo giuoco, e lungo sarebbe volergli tutti raccontare. A Firenze si costuma di levare i sette delle carte e gli otto et i nove, invitasi et tiensi sopra ogni piccolo punto, fassi del resto alla seconda carta, et quando si dice passo, bisogna per forza scartarle tutte, si bene uno havesse un asso o un sei in mano. Cosi a Venetia verbi gratia, debbe essere diverso il modo del giocare, in Lombardia, Napoli, in Francia in Hispagna, tanti paesi, tanti costumi. Ma di tutti le usanze del mondo sia pur qual si voglia, che nessuna è piu bella di

Duchat, in a note on that chapter of Rabelais[1] in which the games Gargantua played at are enumerated, has described the mode of playing it, and a similar account may be gathered from the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy. According to Duchat, there are two kinds of Primero, the greater and the lesser; the difference between them is, that the former is played with the figured cards, while at the latter the highest card is the *seven*, which counts for *one and twenty*. Each player has four cards, which are dealt one by one; the next card in value to the seven is the *six*, which counts for eighteen; then the five, which counts for fifteen. The ace is equivalent to sixteen points, but the *deuce* the *trey* and the *four* count only for their respective numbers. To these cards may be added, if the players chuse, the *Quinola*, for which the knave of hearts is most commonly chosen, and of which he may make what card and what colour he likes. After which each of the players shew their four cards, and he whose cards are all of different sorts wins the *prime*, if they are all of one colour he wins the flush.

This game, according to the Great Spanish Dictionary, is played by dealing four cards to each player; the value of the *seven*, *six*, and *ace*, are stated to be the same as Duchat gives to them; but the *deuce* is said to count for *twelve*, the *trey* for *thirteen*, the *four* for

quella della corte di Roma, la quale cosi come in tutte le altre cose e giudiciosa et accorta. In questa gloriose corte adunque, fra l'altre laudevoli usanze fiorisce sommamente quella della *Primiera*, qui ha ella la liberta sua, la riputatione, il decoro, i numeri, le figure, e le parte sue. Qui non segli toglie ne sette, ne otto, ne nove, qui si puo scartare e non è scartare amendue le carte, poi che è detto una volta passo. Non si fa cosi alle due carte del resto, come forse non meno malignamente che leggiermente s'usa di fare altrove.———Il principal travaglio di questo gioco, si posson chiamare i suoi principali capi, il flusso, e la primiera, et un terzo derivato dal primo che si chiamo il punto. Da questi tre, derivano tutte l'altre diversita che nella Primiera intervengono cotidianamente, cioè, maggior flusso, et minor flusso, maggior e minor primiera, più e men punto, dalle quali diversità nascano infinite controversie, et mille be' punti da disputare.——Un altro non men bello travaglio di questi è che le quattro cose vinchino et il flusso e la primiera, come dir quattro figure quattro assi e simili.

Capitolo del Gioco della Primiera. Passim.

[1] Œuvres de Rabelais avec les remarques de M. le Duchat, T. 1, p. 78, 4to. Amst. 1741.

fourteen, and the *five* for *fifteen*, the figured cards are each equivalent to *ten*. The best hand, and that which wins every thing, is the great flush, that is four cards of high numbers and of one colour; the next is the *punto*, consisting of the *Quinola*, and *seven*, six, ace, which count for *fifty-five:* then the *primera*, or prime, which is four cards of different suits. Should two persons hold *flushes*, he who counts the highest number, or the greater flush wins, and the same regulation holds good in regard to the prime. But should there be neither *flush* nor *prime*, he wins who can count most points in one suit.[1]

Primero, *Prime* and *Primavista*[2] are one and the same game, although Mr. Bowle did not see the connection; the popularity of this game during the reign of Elizabeth is apparent from the frequent mention of it, which occurs in the writers of that time. Shakspeare speaks of Henry the Eighth playing at Primero with the Duke of Suffolk; and, it is probable, that he had some authority for the use of the game in that reign. Cards, it is true, were played with in the reign of Henry the Seventh, among whose private expences are notices of money issued at three several times for his losses at cards; in the year 1502 we find James the Fourth of Scotland playing at cards with his destined consort at Edinburgh.[3] The private expences of the Princess *Mary*, daughter to Henry the Eighth, and

[1] Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana para la Real Academia *in voce* PRIMIERA.

[2] "PRIMERO & PRIMA-VISTA ab Ital. *Primera,* Lusus qu dam chartarum ab Ital. *Primiero,* Primus; & *Prima vista,* Primus aspectus." *Skinner Etymolog. Angl.*

"*Primero* and *Prima vista*, two games of cards. *Primum et primum visum,* that is, first and first seene, because he that can show such an order of cards wins the game. *Minshew's* Guide into Tongues, fol. 1617.

[3] "Card-playing," says Strutt, "appears to have been a very fashionable Court amusement in the reign of Henry VIIth. In an account of money disbursed for the use of that monarch, in the Remembrancer's Office, dated December the 26th, in the ninth year of his reign, an entry is made of one hundred shillings paid at one time to him for the purpose of playing at cards."—"Margaret (says the same authority) previous to her marriage understood the use of cards; she played with her intended husband at Harbottle Castle; the celebration of the nuptials took place in the year 1503, she being

afterwards Queen, also contain numerous items of money "for the Playe at the Cardes;" it is not therefore certain, that Primero had found its way to England previously to the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain; but there is no doubt that his coming to England from the Court of his father, Charles Vth. where it must have been then in high fashion, would cause it to be more generally known and played. Shakspeare makes Falstaff say, "I never prospered since I forswore myself at *Primero*:" and that it was the Court game, there is sufficient evidence in a very curious picture exhibited some time since at the Society of Antiquaries, and described by Mr. Barrington in the Archæologia.[1] This picture originally belonged to the great and good Lord Falkland, from whom it descended to the late Viscount of that title, who died some time since. According to tradition in the family, it was painted by Zucchero, and represented Lord Burleigh playing at cards with three other persons, who, from their dress, appear to be of distinction, each of them having two rings on the same fingers of both their hands. The cards are marked as at present, and differ from those of more modern times only by being narrower and longer; eight of these lie on the table, with the blank side uppermost, whilst four remain in each of their hands. Other particulars deserving notice are, that one of the players exhibits his cards, which are the knave of hearts, with the *ace*, *seven*, and *six* of clubs. There are also considerable heaps of gold and silver on the table, so that these dignified personages seem to have

fourteen years of age." See also Additions to Leland's Collectanea, Vol. III. p. 285.

Sports and Pastimes of the English Nation, p. 287-8, 2d edit. Lond. 1810. 4to.

Warton has cited a poem by Sir William Forrest, describing the life of Catharine of Arragon, consort of Prince Arthur, and afterwards Queen to Henry the Eighth, his brother, in which he speaks of the accomplishments of her younger years thus:

With stole and needyl she was not to seke,
And other practiseings for ladyes meete
To pastyme at tables, ticktacke, or gleeke
Cardys, dyce, &c.

Hist. of Eng. Poetry, III. p. 312.

but as this is not cotemporary authority, the mention of cards may be a licence of the author; yet, as Catharine came from Spain, it is not improbable she was well versed in the game of Primero.

[1] Vol. VIII. page 133.

played for what would not, at present, be called a *chicken* stake. There seems to be little doubt that Primero was the game which the painter meant to describe; and that the person exhibiting his cards to the spectators has won the flush; for his three clubs are the best cards for counting, and his knave of hearts may double the best of these, whilst it also becomes a club, and thus wins by the number of points, as well as by the four cards becoming a flush of clubs." Mr. Douce informs us, that on the table there was also lying the cover of the pack, on which were two lions supporting a shield upon which was what appeared to be a rose, and underneath, but indistinctly marked, the name of the card-maker, Jehan Licl**rer. So that the cards then in use were, most probably, obtained from France; the money appeared to be coins of Edward VIth. and Queen Elizabeth.

But there is evidence that cards were in use in England even in the reign of Henry the Sixth; for in the Chester Plays or Mysteries, a copy of which is preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, an old Ale-wife or Brewer is introduced in a scene of Hell. She is consigned to the taunts and torments of three Devils, one of whom thus addresses her:

> Welcome deare darlinge to endless bale
> Useinge cardes, dice, and cuppes smale,
> With many false other, to sell thy ale,
> Now thou shalt have a feaste.

The universality of card playing in the reign of Henry the Seventh is evident, from a prohibitory statute being necessary to prevent apprentices from using cards except in the Christmas holidays, and then only in their masters' houses; and the same statute forbids any householder to permit card-playing in his house at other times under the penalty of six shillings and eight pence for every offence.[1] This privilege of playing at cards at the festive holiday season appears to have been made use of very generally; and Stowe, describing the customs of the Londoners at this period, informs us that " from All Hallows eve to the day following, Candlemas-day,

[1] Statut. An. II. Hen. VII. cap. 2.

here was, among other sports, playing at cards for counters, nails, and points, in every house, more for pastime than for gain."[1] Henry the Eighth is said to have preferred the sports of the field to sedentary amusements; and Hall, who has minutely described his mode of life and amusements, has not mentioned cards among them.

Sir William Forrest, who is already cited in a note above, wrote at the close of this reign a poetical treatise, entitled "The Poesy of Princelye Practice,"[2] addressed to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward the Sixth, in which, among the amusements proper for a monarch, he says, after dinner it is proper to indulge in music, or

Att tables, chesse, or cardis, awhile himselfe repose.

But adds, that sitting pastimes are seldom found good, especially in the day-time, and therefore advises the pursuit of those which afford air and exercise. In another part of the same poem he speaks in strong terms against the practice of card-playing, as productive of idleness, especially when it is practised by the labouring people in places of common resort:

Att ale howse to sit, at *mack* or at mall,
Tables or dyce, or that cardis men call
Or at whatoother game oute of season dwe
Let them be punysched without all rescue.

The author of the old morality, entitled "Hycke Scorner,"[3] probably written before this poem of Forrest's, places card-players with such company as evinces that he had no good opinion of their morals:

Walkers by nyght, with gret murdrers
Overthwarte with gyle, and joly carders.

[1] Survey of London, fol. 1633. p. 79.

[2] This manuscript is cited by Strutt in his Sports and Pastimes, as in the Royal Library.

[3] The original edition was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and is consequently not later than the commencement of the sixteenth century; it is reprinted in Hawkins's Origin of the Drama, Vol. I.

And in Barclay's translation of the Ship of Fooles, by Sebastian Brant, which was first printed by Pynson, in 1508, are the following lines:

> The damnable lust of cardes and of dice,
> And other games prohibit by the lawe.

Frequent reference to cards is made in our old dramatic writers, and the games principally mentioned are Primero, Mawe, Loadam, Mount Sant, Macke, &c. but little trace of the manner in which many of these popular games were played now remains; what little we have been enabled to glean respecting them is rather by tracing them to their original foreign name, than from any assistance to be derived from English authorities.

Primero appears to have been one of the earliest games at cards played in England, and continued to be the most fashionable game throughout the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary, Elizabeth, and James. In the Earl of Northumberland's letters about the powder plot, we find that Josc. Percy was playing at Primero on Sunday, when his uncle, the conspirator, called on him at Essex House. In the Sydney papers there is an account of a quarrel between Lord Southampton, the patron of Shakspeare, and one Ambrose Willoughby, on account of the former persisting to play at Primero with Sir Walter Raleigh and another, in the Presence Chamber, after the Queen had retired to rest.[1]

Among the epigrams of the facetious Sir John Harington we

[1] The quarrel of my Lord Southampton to Ambrose Willoughby grew upon this: That he, with Sir Walter Rawley and Mr. Parker, being at Primero in the Presence Chamber, the Queen was gone to bed; and he being there, as squire of the body, desired him to give over. Soon after he spoke to them againe, that if they would not leave, he would call in the guard to pull down the board, which Sir Walter Rawley seeing, put up his money, and went his wayes; but my Lord Southampton took exceptions at him, and told hym, he would remember it; and so finding hym between the Tennis-Court wall and garden, strooke him; and Willoughby pull'd of some of his lockes." This occurred at the commencement of the year 1598. See the *Sydney Papers*, Vol. II. page 83.

have one which describes " the Story of Marcus' Life at Primero," in which are developed many of the terms of the game; and it may also serve to shew that it was the most prevalent of all games with the higher classes; among whom gaming seems then not to have been less practised than at present.

Fond Marcus ever at *Primero* playes
Long winter nights, and as long summer dayes:
And I heard once, to idle talk attending,
The story of his times, and coines mis-spending.
As first, he thought himselfe halfe way to heaven,
If in his hand he had but got a seven,
His father's death set him so high on flote,
All rests went up upon a seven, and coat.
But while he drawes for these gray coates and gownes,
The gamesters from his purse drew all his crownes.
And he ne're ceast to venter all in prime,
Till of his age, quite was consum'd the *prime*,
Then he more warily his *rest* regards,
And sets with certainties upon the cards,
On six and thirty, or on seven and nine,
If any set his rest, and faith, and mine:
But seld with this he either gaines or saves,
For either Faustus prime is with three knaves,
Or Marcus never can encounter right,
Yet drew two aces, and for further spight,
Had colour for it with a hopefull draught,
But not encountred it avail'd him naught.
Well, sith encountring, he so faire doth misse,
He sets not till he nine and forty is.
And thinking now his rest would sure be doubled,
He lost it by the hand, with which sore troubled,
He joynes now all his stock, unto his stake,
That of his fortune he full proofe may make.
At last both eldest hand and five and fifty,
He thinketh now or never (thrive unthrifty)
Now for the greatest rest he hath the push:
But Crassus stopt a club, and so was flush:
And thus what with the stop, and with the pack,
Poore Marcus, and his rest goes still to wrack.
Now must he seek new spoile to set his rest,
For here his seeds turn weeds, his rest unrest.

His land, his plate he pawnes, he sels his leases,
To patch, to borrow, to shift he never ceases.
Till at the last two catch-poles him encounter,
And by arrest they beare him to the Counter.
Now Marcus may set up all rests securely:
For now he's sure to be encountred surely.

In an other epigram, published subsequently, Sir John Harington enumerates "the games that have been in request at court," which appear to have been Prime or Primero, Mawe, Loadam, Noddy, Bankerout, and Lavolta, if this last be not rather an expression used at play, than the name of a game.

I heard one make a pretty observation,
How games have in the court turn'd with the fashion.
The first game was the best, when free from crime,
The courtly gamesters all were in their *prime:*
The second game was *Post*, until with posting,
They paid so fast, 'twas time to leave their boasting.
Then thirdly follow'd heaving of the *Maw*,
A game without civility or law,
An odious play, and yet in Court oft seene,
A sawcy Knave, to trump both King and Queene.
Then follow'd *Lodam*, ————————
Now *Noddy* follow'd next, as well it might,
Although it should have gone before of right.
At which I saw, I name not any body,
One never had the Knave, yet laid for Noddy.
The last game now in use is *Bankerout*,
Which will be plaid at still, I stand in doubt,
Until *Lavolta* turn the wheel of time,
And make it come about again to *Prime*.

From the following strange lines by Heywood, which he calls an epigram, we gather, that the cards in use in his time were not of the kind called Tarotté, for that they were *tooted*, or spotted but on one side.

Were it as parellous to deale cardes at play,
As it is quarrellous to deale cardes this day,

One and forty men, among one and fiftie,
Would flee one and thirtie, to flie one unthriftie.
As yet cardes so dealt should have in revealing,
Fore deale of bookes in this harde time of dealing.
Cardes be tooted on but on tone side
Bookes on both sides: in all places porde and pride.

John Fox (says Mr. Gough) tells of a sermon of Bishop Latimer's, preached at St. Edward's church, Cambridge, the Sunday before Christmas, 152$\frac{7}{8}$, "Concerning his playing at cards," in which he dealt out an exposition of the precepts of Christianity. "Now ye have heard what is meant by this first card, and how you ought to play with it; I purpose again to deal unto you another card almost of the same sute, for they be of so nigh affinity that one cannot be played without the other," &c. It seems, says Fuller, "he suited his sermon rather to the *time* than the *text*, which was the Baptist's question to our Lord, *Who art thou?* taking thereby occasion to conform his discourse to the playing at cardes, making the *heart triumph*. This blunt preaching was in those dark days admirably effectual, which would be justly ridiculous in our age." I remember, adds Fuller, in my days, a country minister preached at St. Mary's from Rom. xii. 3. "As God has *dealt* to every man the measure of faith." In a fond imitation of Latimer's sermon he prosecuted the metaphor of *dealing*, that men should play above board, i. e. avoid all dissembling, not *pocket cards*, but improve their gifts and graces, *follow suit*, &c. All which produced nothing but laughter in the audience."[1]

Cards were very much used in the reign of James the first; and it appears from a passage in the Gull's Hornbook, that the spectators at the playhouse amused themselves with them while waiting for the commencement of the performance.

There are satyrical poems by Samuel Rowlands, published in 1611, under the titles of "The Knave of Clubs," "The Knave of Hearts," and "The Knaves of Spades and Diamonds;" and he has humourously made the Knave of Hearts supplicate the card-makers for a change offashion.

[1] Archæologia, VIII. p. 170*.

All other Knaues are at their owne free-wille,
To braue it out, and follow fashion still
In any cut, according to the time,
But we poor Knaues (I know not for what crime)
Are kept in pie-bald suites, which we haue worne
Hundred of yeares, this hardly can be borne.
The idle-headed French deuis'd vs first,
Who of all-fashion mongers is the worst:
For he doth change farre oftner than the moone,
Dislikes his morning suite in th' after-noone.
The English is his imitating ape,
In euery toy the tailers-sheares can shape,
Come dropping after, as the deuill entices,
And putteth on the French-mans cast deuises.
Yet wee (with whom thus long they both haue plaid)
Must weare the suites in which we first were made.
How bad I and my fellow Dimond goes,
We neuer yet had garter to our hose,
Nor any shooe to put vpon our feete,
With such base cloaths, tis e'en a shame to see't.
My sleeues are like some morris-dancing fellow,
My stockings ideot-like, red, greene and yealow.
My breeches like a paire of lute-pins be.—
Like three-penie watch-men, three of vs doe stand,
Each with a rustie browne-bill in his hand:
And Clubs he holds an arrow, like a clowne,
The head-end vpward, and the feathers downe.
Thus we are wrong'd and thus we are agrieu'd,
And thus long time we haue beene vnrelieu'd.
But, Card makers, of you, Harts reason craues,
Why we should be restrain'd aboue all Knaues
To weare such patched and disguis'd attire?
Answere but this of kindnesse we require:
Shew vs (I pray) some reason, how it haps,
That we are euer-bound to weare flat-caps.
As though we had vnto a cities trade,
Bin prentises, and so were free-men made.

These poems have wood cut representations of the Knaves on the title pages, by which we see that the cards then in use were very much the same with those now manufactured.[1]

[1] British Bibliographer, Vol. I. p. 348; Vol. II. pp. 103, 105.

—— let a paire of cards lye in a roome,
Where any idle fellow cometh in,
The Knaues hee'll single out and thus begin.
Here are foure millers for their honest dealing,
Or tailers, for the gift they haue in stealing:
Or brokers for their buying things are stole:
Or bakers, for their looking throw a hole:
Or colliers, for not filling of their sackes:
Thus we are plaid vpon by sawcy Iackes.
And therefore if perswasions may but winne you,
Good Card-makers, (if there be any goodnes in you)
Apparrell vs with more respected care,
Put vs in hats, our caps are worne thread-bare.
Let vs haue standing collers, in the fashion:
(All are become a stiffe-necke generation)
Rose hat-bands, with the shagged ragged ruffe,
Great cabbage-shoostrings (pray you bigge enough)
French doublet, and the Spanish hose to breech it,
Short cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)
Exchange our swords, and take away our bils,
Let vs haue rapiers (knaues love fight that kils)
Put vs in bootes, and make vs leather legs,
This Harts most humbly, and his fellowes begs.

In the latest of these publications, entitled "More Knaves yet," the Knaves of Spades and Diamonds express themselves in the following manner.

Ovr fellow Harts did late petition frame
To Cardmakers, some better sutes to claime;
And for vs all, did speake of all our wrongs:
Yet they to whome redresse herein belongs
Amend it not, and little hope appeares.
I thinke before the conquest many yeares,
We wore the fashion which we still retaine:
But, seeing that our sute is spent in vaine,
Weele mend ourselues as meanes in time doth grow,
Accepting what some other friends bestow
As now the honest Printer hath beene kinde,
Bootes, and Stockings to, our legs doth finde
Garters, Polonia heeles, and Rose Shooe strings,
Which somewhat vs two Knaves in fashion brings.

From the knee downward, legs are well amended
And we acknowledge that we are befriended..."

This tract has also a wood cut, exhibiting the Knaves of Spades and Diamonds in their improved costume.

MAWE.

This game, which is one of those alluded to by Sir John Harington as succeeding Primero, is also mentioned in a very interesting and curious tract, written by Arthur Hall[1] about the year 1580, wherein it is described as "a playe at cardes grown out of the country, from the meanest, into credit at court with the greatest." Among Mr. Malone's notices of Old Plays in his Historical Account of the English Stage, one is called "the Suit of Mawe;" and in Bagford's manuscript collections for a history of printing[2] is a reference to a printed book, called "The Groom Porter's Order for the game at Mawe." In *Dekker's* "*Villanies discovered*" mention is made of "a

[1] "A letter sent by F. A. touching the proceedings in a private quarrell and unkindness, between Arthur Hall, and Melchisedech Mallerie, Gentlemen, printed by Bynneman." The author and the printer were both prosecuted by the House of Commons, part of it being deemed libellous, and as such it was condemned to be burnt: but one copy is known to have escaped this decree, from which it has been recently reprinted in Mr. Triphook's "*Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*," No. V. It exhibits in many parts a lively picture of the swash-buckler manners of the youth of fashion in the reign of Elizabeth, and affords the first precedent of the expulsion of a member from the House of Commons.

The following is the passage above alluded to.

"Master Richard Drake, a gentleman well bearing himselfe alwayes, then attending upon my L. of Leicester, but now the Queenes maiestyes Servante in ordinarie, advised M. Hall as his friende, to take heede to himselfe in playe, forasmuch as he had some waies understoode of indirect dealings touching the same: and specially for the giving signs of hys game at *Mawe*, a play at cardes grown out of the country, from the meanest, into credit at court with the greatest, Hall, toke his friendship in good parte, as he had good cause, & craued withal to shewe whom he mistrusted, who as one not making tales on his fingers ends named *Melchisidech Mallerie*, as a man to be doubted off. In troth, quoth Hall, yesternight he trode on my foote, I being at Maw at Mistresse Arundels; the old & honorable ordinary table, as I may terme it of Englād, but what he meant thereby I know not, I thinke no euil." *Page* 5.

[2] Preserved in the British Museum.

Set at Mawe," and the game is also mentioned in the old comedy of "Gammer Gurton's Needle." In a satirical tract, apparently translated from the German, entitled, *the True History of Pope Joan*,[1] we have the following clue to trace from whence this game was derived. Speaking of the Jesuits, the author says, "A certain prince of ours did compare them unto a game at cardes, in which the gamesters like loadam playe and bring them forth last that are of most price, to beat downe the adverse party: or like the ace of hearts at *Mawe* (the game is with us called Rumstich)." Now we find that *Rumstich*, or *Romstecq*, is described in the *Maison Academique des Jeux* as originally a Dutch or German game, and the method of playing it is there fully described. It is played with a Piquet Pack of thirty-six cards, and any number of persons from two to six may form the party. When six play, a card is turned up all round, and those who have the three highest cards are partners, and are opposed to the three lowest: when four only play, it is two against two, as at whist. It would be tedious here to enter into a description of the method in which this game is played; but for the satisfaction of those who are curious to know the form of our ancient popular games, the passages of most importance from the French book are copied beneath.[2] The Italians had a game which may possibly

[1] *Historia de Donne famose.* The true History of Pope Joan. London, 1599. 4to. *Sig. A* 1. *rev.*

[2] L'origine de ce jeu vient de la Hollande, & c'est pour ce sujet qu'il est apellé Rome-stecq: Il se jouë a Roüen de la mesme maniere qu'il se jouë en Hollande; mais a Paris il se jouë avec des regles tres rigoureuses, & avec beaucoup plus d'observations:——Vous prendrez un jeu de cartes ordinaires, & osterez toutes les petites, reservant les 36 qui restent comme au jeu de Piquet.——L'on peut joüer depuis deux personnes jusques à six, à cinq cartes chacun——Jouant à six personnes celui qui sera au milieu donnera à couper à celuy qui sera au milieu de l'autre coté de la table & qui joüera contre luy.——Celuy qui aura la plus haute carte choisira de faire, ou non.——Cela estant resolu, celuy qui ne donne pas est celuy qui doit marquer le jeu.—Ordinairement a six personnes, l'on marque 35: et a quatre ou a deux personnes l'ordinaire est a 21.—Celuy qui fait, donnera cinq cartes à chacun à sa volonté, scavoir par une, par deux, trois, ou par cinq, il faut qu'il donne toujours durant la partie da la même maniere qu'il a commencé, & ainsi chacun des autres donnera à son rang.——L'As vaut onze et emporte le Roy, & ainsi le Roy emporte les autres plus basses.—*Virlicque*

have answered to this, as there is some similarity in the name; it is one of those enumerated in the Commentary on the *Gioco di Primiera*, and is called *Romfa*.

LOADAM.

This is another of the games mentioned by Harington, but of its nature we have been able to find no trace, except in the passage from the History of Pope Joan, above cited. We find it referred to by various other writers of the same period.

NODDY

Is the next in order of those he mentions, and of this game we have not any other account to give; it may perhaps have borne some relation to a childish pastime with cards played in more recent times under the title of *Beat the Knave out of doors*, which is mentioned together with *Ruff* and *New Cut*, by Thomas Heywood, in his play of "A Woman killed with kindness."

est quatre cartes arrivées en une même main de même façon comme qui diroit, j'ay quatre As, ou 4 Roys, & ainsi du reste.——*Triche*, sont 3 cartes de même sorte arrivées dans une même main comme trois As, trois Roys ou autre cartes au dessous.——*Double ningre*, sont deux As, deux Roys arrivez en une même main: ou bien deux Dix ou deux Roys en la place des As.——*Village*, sont deux Dames & deux Valets, de meme valeur, ou deux dix & deux neufs a commencer depuis le dame jusques à la plus basse suivante.—Double Rome sont deux As ou deux Roys arrivées dans un même main.——*Rome*, est deux Cartes semblables au dessous des Roys arrivées dans une même main.

Qui a *Virlicque* à gagné la partie.——*Triche* vaut trois dans la main, quand tout passe il vaut six. *Double ningre* vaut trois dans la main, quand vous jouerez une des quatres cartes qui le composent, il faut dire en le jettant, *piece de ningre*, et en jouant une autre, dire *autre piece*, car si vous effaciez votre marque sans avoir dit *piece, &c.* vous auriez perdu, et ainsi du *Village*, qui vaut deux.——Double Rome valent deux dans la main de la meme maniere. Rome ne vaut qu'un.——Le *Stecque* est un marque pour celuy qui fait la derniere levée.——*Gruger* est quand on jette une Carte d'une sorte de laquelle on nà pas, & que l'on soit contraint de jetter quelques As ou Roys, cela s'apelle *gruger*, d'autant que celuy qui les gruge en efface autant qu'il en aura marquez: L'As et les Roys valent chacun un ainsi qu'il est dit cy-dessus. *Maison des Jeux Academiques*, 1668. Page 60.

"*Le Romestecq* qui est un jeu assez difficile, tire l'étymologie de son nome de *Rome* qui est une terme du jeu, et de *Stecq* qui est une autre." *Academie universelle des Jeux*. Amst. 1773. 12mo. Vol. 1. p. 335.

MACKE.

We are unable to afford any further information respecting this game, than that there is a probability it is the same with the old French *Jeu de Macao.* Bagford also refers to a printed order for it; and there is a comedy mentioned in the list printed by Mr. Malone, under the title of *The Macke.*

GLEEK

Is mentioned with Primero in *Green's Tu quoque,* where one of the characters proposes to play at twelvepenny gleek, but the other insists upon making it for a crown at least. This should appear to be an early French game, for it is mentioned by Villon, who wrote in 1461, and by another nearly cotemporary writer, *Maitre Eloi d'Amenrnal,* in his *Livre de la Deablerie*

Duchat[1] says, that it is so named from the German *Gluck,* hazard, luck, chance. At Metz, where the *patois* contains many German words, they call it a *glic* or *gleek,* when at some games of cards one of the players holds three or four figured cards of one sort, as three or four Kings, Queens, or Knaves; and it is evidently so called, says he, as a species of good fortune or *luck,* for the gleek counts several points. Cotton, who describes it at large in the Complete Gamester,[2] calls it "A noble and delighful game or recreation."

[1] Rabelais, C. 22. Liv. I. Amst. 1741. 4to.

[2] We have abridged the account of GLEEK from the Complete Gamester, and here subjoin it.

"This game is played by *three* persons only; the deuces and treys are thrown out of the pack; in cutting for deal the lowest deals. Each person has twelve cards, which are distributed four at a time, the remaining eight cards are laid on the table for the *Stock;* one of them is turned up for trumps, and this belongs to the dealer if it be the *four,* which is called *Tiddy:* each of the players pays four counters to the dealer. The *Ace* of trumps is called *Tib.* The *Knave, Tom.* The former is fifteen in hand, and eighteen in play, because it wins a trick. The latter counts for nine. The *five* is called *Towser.* The *six, Tumbler,* which reckon in hand for their respective number of points, but if turned up, for double. The King and the Queen of trumps count for three each.—

There is an early Italian game mentioned in the *Gioco della Primiera*, which is named *Cricca*, and may have possibly furnished the idea of the French and English games: it is at least quite as probable that it did so, as the supposition of Duchat, that they were derived from the German *Gluck*. This word *Cricca* is explained in the *Vo-*

The eldest hand bids for the stock, in hopes of bettering his game, though sometimes it makes it worse for him: the lowest bidding is twelve counters, and so on; if at sixteen they say take it, the bidder is bound to his bargain, and takes in the seven cards of the stock, discarding seven instead; he pays eight counters to each of the players, but if an odd number is given the eldest hand claims the largest half, or else the odd one is given to the pool. A *Mournival* is either all the Aces, Kings, or Knaves. A *Gleek* is three of either of them. A Mournival of Aces receives eight counters; of Kings, six; of Queens, four; of Knaves, two, from each of the other players. A Gleek of Aces receives four; of Kings, three; of Knaves, one, from each.——If the buyer of the stock is fortunate enough to have either Mournival, Gleek, or *Tiddy*, in his hand after he has taken in, he deducts for them all, and thus he may sometimes gain more than will pay his bidding. If *Tib* is turned up it is fifteen for the dealer in reckoning after play, but he must not make use of it in play, as it is the trump card, and would win a trick, which is three more. Next you speak for the *Ruff*, and he that hath most of a suit in his hand wins it, except any one has *four* Aces, which wins it against all competition of suits. If any one have a *Ruff* and omit to shew it before a card is played, he loses it, and any other player shewing for a Ruff afterward shall have it. The first or eldest hand says, *I'll vie the Ruff;* the next says, *I'll see it;* the third, *I'll see it, and revie it*: I'll see your revie, says the first, because he has as many in his hand as another. The middle one probably then says, *I'll not meddle with it*, then they shew their cards, and he that has most of a suit wins six counters, &c. according to the game agreed, of him that holds out longest, and *four* of the other; but if either of the players says he has nothing to say to the Ruff, he pays but one counter. If the eldest and second hand *pass* the Ruff, the youngest has the power to double it, and then it is played for the next deal; and if any one forget to call for this double Ruff, it is played for in the next deal after. Buying, or bidding for the Ruff, is when you are likely to go in for Mournival, or Gleek, or increase of trumps, so that if you have bad cards you may save your buyings and your cards too; whereas otherwise you would lose all.—— If you call for either Mournival or Gleek, and have laid them out in the stock, and are taken in the fact, you forfeit double what you received.——Some out of policy will vie when they have not above thirty in their hand, and their antagonists forty or fifty, but being afraid to see it, and this stratagem sometimes thus succeeds, and the bravado wins. Let this suffice for this noble and delightful Game and Recreation." Complete Gamester (by C. Cotton Esqr.) Lond. 1680. page 64 et seq.

We shall extract from this interesting little book those games which it enumerates, and which are now no longer in use, and a description of an Ordinary prefixed to it: they will find a place in the Appendix.

cabolario della Crusca[1] to have the same signification with *Gleek* in English, and *Glic* in French; that is, the holding three cards of one sort, as three Knaves, three Kings, three Aces, &c. Berni, in his *rifaccimento* of Boyardo's *Orlando Inammorato*, compares two of his combatants to two players at this game, because they are fighting with clubs.

Sembran Costor due giocator di Cricca
Ch' abbian il punto tutti due in bastoni.

This is sufficient to establish the antiquity of its use in Italy, to which country it is more than probable many of the most popular games of other nations might be traced, if we had any means of comparing them; but the accounts which have come down to us furnish little more than the mere name.

POST AND PAIR.

This is no doubt what Sir John Harington means by *Post*.[2] In the Complete Gamester, which is supposed to have been written by Charles Cotton, the friend of Isaac Walton, a book which we have had occasion frequently to quote, *Post and Pair* is said to be "a game on the cards very much played in the West of England." The description of the game will be found in the Appendix.

BANKROUT.

We have no other notice of this, unless it be the same with *Bank a fa let*, described in the Complete Gamester, which is not improbable. At this game the cards must be cut into as many parcels as there are players, or more as may be agreed. Every one stakes as much on his own card as he chooses, or if there are any

[1] Cricca, Nome che si usa nel giuoco di carte; e chiamiansi Cricca *tre* figure di esse, come dir tre fante, tre donne, tre re, tre assi, &c. che uomo habbia in mano.— E per una spezie di Giuoco di Carte. v. *Berni Orl. Inammorato, lib. 3. c. 6. st. 53.*

[2] "Post," says Mr. Bowle, "is derived from *Apostar*, which means, to place in the hands of a third person a certain sum of money, or an equivalent for the winner."

supernumerary parcels, any one may stake on them. The dealer pays to every player whose card is superior to his, and receives from every one whose card is inferior. The best cards are the aces, and of these diamonds is the highest; then hearts, clubs, and, lastly, spades. The power of the other cards is the same as at Whist. We are informed the modern name of this game is *Blind Hazard*, and that it is still played.

ALL FOURS

Is described by Cotton "as a game very much played in Kent," and very well it may, continues he, "since from thence it drew its first original; and although the game may be looked on as trivial, yet have I known Kentish gentlemen and others of very considerable note, who have played great sums of money at it. This game, Cotton conceives, "is called *All Fours*, from highest, lowest, jack, and game, which is the set as some play it; but you may play from seven to fifteen, or more if you please, but commonly eleven."

OMBRE,

As its name plainly denotes, also owes its invention to the Spaniards; and it is said to partake of the gravity which has been considered the peculiar character of the Spanish nation. It is called *El Hombre*, or the man, and was so named, says Bullet, "on account of the deep thought and reflection it requires, which render it a game worthy the attention of man." But it may rather be conceived to have derived its name from one of the players who undertakes to play the game against the rest, and who is in consequence called *El Hombre*. It appears to be merely an alteration or improvement of the game of Primero, and it is to be presumed was invented previous to the publication of the Dictionary of Cobarruvias in 1611, although he makes no mention of it. It is designated in the *Maison des Jeux Academiques*, in 1668, under the name of *l'Homme, autrement dit la Beste;* in the "Complete Gamester," it is said, "there are several sorts of this game; but that which is the chief is called *Renegado*, at which three only can

play, to whom are dealt nine cards apiece, so that by discarding the eights, nines, and tens, there will remain thirteen cards in the stock." In Seymour's Compleat Gamester, 1739, it is described as a game much in fashion; and there is a frontispiece to the book, in which a party of rank are represented playing at it. Mr. Barrington[1] says, that Ombre was probably introduced into this country by Catherine of Portugal, the Queen of Charles the Second; as Waller hath a poem, "On a Card torn at Ombre by the Queen." It likewise continued to be in vogue for some time in the last century, for it is Belinda's game in the *Rape of the Lock*, where every incident in the whole deal is so described, that when Ombre is forgotten (and it is almost so already) it may be revived with posterity from that most admirable poem. Many of our readers will recollect, we doubt not, to have seen three-cornered tables among old furniture; these tables were made purposely for Ombre, and in the print which we have mentioned above, the table is of that form. To play this game well, attention and quietness are said to be absolutely necessary; "for if a player be ever so expert, he will be apt to fall into mistakes if he thinks of any thing else, or is disturbed by the conversation of bye-standers. There are many ways of playing the game; it is sometimes played with *force Spadille*, or *Espadille Forcé*, sometimes by two persons only, sometimes by three, which is the most general way; but it may be played by *four* or five persons."

The Spaniards, according to Bullet,[2] occasionally called this game *Manilla*, from the name of the second *Matador*,[3] the *Matadores* are so called, because they are killing cards, or irresistible, the word in Spanish signifying a slayer or killer; the combatant in the bull-feast who dispatches the animal is called a *Matador*.

The first *Matador* is the ace of spades, which is called *Espadilla*,[4] a little or short sword is represented on this card in the Spanish

[1] Archæologia, vol. viii. p. 152.

[2] Recherches sur les C. à j. p. 157.

[3] *Matador,* en el juego llaman triunfo matador, el que no tiene resistencia. *Co-barruvias.*

[4] *Espadilla,* es en los naipes el punto que por otro nombre llaman la chifla. *Idem.*

pack, and the name designates the object; it is the diminutive of *Espada*, a sword. The second Matador is called *Manilla*, or *Malilla*;[1] and Bullet gives rather a forced and improbable etymology of the word: it is the seven in a red suit, and the deuce in black, the seven being the lowest card in red. The third *Matador*, the ace of clubs, is called *Basto*, and is the name of the object on this card in the Spanish pack, which is a club-stick. The fourth *Matador* is a red ace: when it is agreed to play in that colour, it is called *Punto*,[2] literally the point, or ace. Some of the other terms at this game have been fancifully explained by Bullet.

QUADRILLE,

Which is only another species of Ombre, appears to have superseded it, and to have been very popular in England, until Whist began to be played upon scientific principles. Although this game has a Spanish name, it is supposed to be an invention of the French nation, and appears to have been a great favourite with the ladies, as requiring much less attention than Ombre; there was also a modification of it, which might be played by three persons; but it is generally considered far inferior to the game by four, and was only played when a fourth player could not be had.

REVERSIS

Is a French game, which, Bullet imagines, was invented in the Court of Francis the First, the gaiety of whose disposition attracted around him all the beauty of his dominions. For variety sake, the order and construction of this game was entirely the reverse of those already in use, and hence its name. Those who made the most tricks won in other games; but here, on the contrary, to make

[1] *Malilla*, a card picked out and agreed upon, to make of him any carde in the packe, that he that hath him may make him King, Queen, Knave, Ace, nine, ten, &c. at two or three sorts of games. *Minsheu.*

Malilla, le neuf de deniers au jeu de *Tarault*s ou cartes, qui sert à tout ce qu'on veut pour faire son jeu. *Tesoro Española Fran. y Ital. Geneve*, 1661, 4*to*.

[2] *Punto*, a pricke, or point, or spot on the cardes; also a game on the head at cardes, as 31 or 35 at Primero. *Florio.*

none was an advantage. The highest cards were best in the usual method of play, but in this the lowest had the preference. The Knave was a better card than the King; and one of them, the Knave of hearts, was called the *Quinola*,[1] as at Primero. The strange incongruity of this inverted order of things made the Spaniards, when this game became known to them, give it the appropriate denomination of *La Gana pierde*; the winner loses.

BASSETT,

Which is said by Dr. Johnson to have been invented at Venice, was certainly known in Italy as early as the end of the fifteenth century; for we have seen that it is mentioned in a poem by Lorenzo di Medici. It appears to have been a fashionable game in England at the close of the seventeenth.

Il Frusso, the flush, is one of the games enumerated in the *Gioco della Primiera*; and is also included in Rabelais' Catalogue of the games at which Gargantua played. Duchat says it was much in fashion at the Court of Louis XII.

Gay ou J'é, also in the same list, was probably only a variety of the same game in Normandy. Duchat says the game of *Brelan* bears the denomination, because the players call out *J'ai* when they have two cards of one sort.

CENT, OR MOUNT SANT.

" In Spanish *Cientos*, or hundred, the point that wins the game. Thus in an old play, entitled '*the Dumb Knight*,' printed in 1608, the queen says of this game, " the name is taken from hundreds;"

[1] Francois I. attira les Dames à sa cour. Les carosses n'étant pas encore inventés, les dames se servoit de chariots ou de litiers pour les voyages considerables. Elles montoient à cheval lorsqu'elles n'alloient pas loin, lorsqu'elles alloient à la cour. Pour prevenir les dangers que leur peu d'experience pouvoit occasioner, elles faisoient monter un Ecuyer ou Valet qui se mettoient en selle; elles s'asseyoient sur la croupe avec la main droite. Cet Ecuyer de Dames s'appelloit alors *Quinola*. Ce terme est formé du mot Celtique *Cinnol*, prononcez *Kinnol*,) qui signifie soûtenir, servir d'appui. *Recherches sur les Cartes à joüer*, *p.* 145.

and afterwards to Philocles, " you are a double game, and I am no less, there is an hundred, and all cards made but one Knave." And in *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and Five Senses*, ' except it be to play at Chests, *Primero*, *Saunt*, *Maw*, or the like.' As the game was played by counting, it is probable that it did not materially differ from Piquet. A Spanish poet, *(Moreto)* quoted by Pellicer, in his notes on Don Quixote, mentions this game and Primero in the following lines.

Y si à otro juego tè metes,
A los *Cientos* te dan sietes,
Y a la *Primera* figuras.

As this game was of Spanish original, and has some appearance of having resembled Piquet, which was not known in France until the early part of the seventeenth century, may not the French have adopted it with some alteration, merely changing its name?

La Condemnata, or *La Condemnade*, is another of Gargantua's games, which was played by three persons only; the youngest hand named a card, and the cards were turned up all round one at a time, and he to whom this card fell won the stake. The game is mentioned, together with *Gleek*, by *Coquillart*, a French poet, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, in his *Droits nouveaux*, thus:

Puis quant la Bourgeoisie est en galles
Une caterve, un Brigade
Vient joüer au son des cymballes
Au *glic*, ou à la *condemnade*.

Jean Marot also mentions it in his *Voyage de Genes*

C'est mal joüé le jeu de *condemnade*
A qui Roi vient quant ung Vallet demande.

And Giovanni della Casa, the Archbishop of Benevento, in his *Capitolo della Stizza*,

Vuol che si dian le Carte presto presto
E invitavi alla bella *condemnata*
E gioco in su la fede, e toglie impresto.

Garzoni enumerates several games at cards in his *Piazza Universale di tutti le Professioni del Mondo;* but as he only furnishes us with their names, we have not deemed it necessary to adduce them here.

TRUMP.

Trump—A game thus named in old plays, and which was probably the *Triunfo*[1] of the Italians and Spaniards, and the *Triomphe*[2] of the French, is perhaps of equal antiquity in England with Primero: at the latter end of the sixteenth century it was very common among the inferior classes of the people. In that amusing performance, "Gammer Gurton's Needle," first acted in 1561, Dame Chat says to Diccon, 'we be set at *trump* man hard by the fire, thou shall set upon the King;" and afterwards to her maid she says

Come hither Doll; Dol, sit down and play this game,
And as thou sawest me do, see thou do even the same;
There are five trumps besides the queen, the hindmost thou shalt find her;
Take heed of Sim Glover's wife, she hath an eye behind her.

Trump is thought to have borne some resemblance to the modern game of Whist, and it will be seen that it was considered the same with *Ruff*, another name for Whist. The description in the little French book of games we have so frequently quoted, confirms the supposition; the only points of dissimilarity are, that more or less than four persons might play at *Trump*, that all the cards were

[1] *Triunfo,* ay un juego de naypes que llaman *triunfo.—Cobarruvias.*
Triumfo, a game at cards so called.—*Minsheu.*
Trionfetti, / *Tronfio,* } a game at cards called Trump or Ruff.—*Florio.* Also a trump card.

[2] *Triomphe,* the card game called Ruffe or Trump; also the Ruffe or Trupm at it. —*Cotgrave.*

not dealt out; and that the dealer had the privilege of taking in some from the stock, and discarding others in their stead The French author says, that the game was in his time so commonly played, and so well known, that to describe it was almost superfluous.

WHIST.[1]

"Ruff and Honours (alias Slam[2]), and Whist," says Cotton, "are games so commonly known in England in all parts thereof, that every child almost of eight years old hath a competent knowledge in that recreation:——these games differ very little one from the other." This is in the *second* edition of the Complete Gamester, printed in 1680. We gather from Mr. Barrington, that the first edition, which was printed in 1664, makes no mention of Whist; but we are not therefore to conclud, that it was then unknown by that name. Cotton makes a kind of apology for speaking of a game so universally known, and he no doubt omitted it in his former edition on that account. In another 'Complete Gamester,' both for court and city,—written for the use of the young Princesses, by Richard Seymour, Esq. the sixth edition of which was printed for E. Curll, of infamous notoriety, in 1737. "Whist, vulgarly called *Whisk*, is said to be a very ancient game among us; and the foundation of all the English games upon the cards."

"It is mentioned in Farquhar's comedy of the Beaux Stratagem, which was written at the very commencement of the eighteenth century. And we gather from Swift, that it was a favourite pastime with clergymen, who played the game with *Swabbers*;[3] these were certain cards by which the holder was entitled to a part of the stake, in the same manner that a claim is made for the Aces at Quadrille: they

[1] *Whist*, vulgarly called *Whisk*, says Seymour; but its original denomination is "Whist, or the silent game."—Complete Gamester. 1739. p. 194.

[2] The term *Slamm*, at Whist, we are informed, now signifies one party winning the game before the adverse party have gained a trick.

[3] "The Clergyman used to play at Whisk and Swabbers."

were possibly so termed because the clearing the board of this extraordinary stake, might be compared by seamen to the swabbers (or cleaners of the deck,) in which sense the term is still used."

Mr. Barrington learned from a gentleman much advanced in years, in the year 1786, "that Whist was not played upon principles until about fifty years before, when it was much studied by a set of gentlemen who frequented the Crown coffee house in Bedford Row: of these, the first Lord Folkstone was one; before that time it had been chiefly confined to the servants' hall with *All-fours* and *Put*." The rules they laid down were, "To play from the strongest suit. To study your partner's hand as much as your own.—Never to force your partner unnecessarily, and to attend to the score." For the satisfaction of the modern Whist player the instructions for playing this game, given by Cotton in 1680, will find a place in the Appendix; it may be curious to contrast them with the scientific and elaborate treatise of Mr. Hoyle. Seymour says, "it was formerly usual to deal four cards together, but now the cards are dealt round one at a time, as the securest and best way." [1]

[1] At the game of whist when one of the parties reckon *six*, or any other number, and the other none, it is usual to say six love. This was explained in the following manner by a correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine, for July, 1780.

"*Six Love*, or *Nine Love*, is as much as to say, *Six to none*, or *Nine to none*; there is, I apprehend, some difficulty in it, since our dictionaries and glossaries, so far as I am acquainted with them, do not attempt to illustrate it: thus, in the English part of Boyer's French Dictionary, the phrase is put down and explained, but we are not told *how*, or *by what means*, *Six love* comes to signify *Six to nothing*.

"I conceive the expression may have come to us either from *Scotland* or *Holland*. *Luff* in old *Scotch* is the hand*; so that *Six luff* will mean *Six in hand*, or more than the adversary, when he has nothing upon his score. So again. *Loaf* in *Dutch*†, whence we have our word *Loof*, and *to loof* is the weather gage, and in this case *Six loof* will imply *six* upon the weather gage, or to advantage, as really it is, when the antagonist is nothing."

"The Queen of clubs," says a correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, p. 141, "is called in Northamptonshire, Queen Bess, perhaps because that Queen, history says, was of a swarthy complexion; the *four* of spades, *Ned Stokes*, but why, I know not; the *nine* of diamonds, the Curse of Scotland, because every ninth monarch of that nation was a bad King to his subjects. I have been told by old people, that this card was so

* Gloss. to Douglas's Virgil.

† Sewel's Dutch Dictionary.

PIQUET.

To the invention of this game the French are supposed to have an undeniable claim, but the period which gave it birth is very uncertain. It forms a prominent object in the *Maison Academique des Jeux*, printed in 1668: at that time it was played with thirty-six cards, the two, three, four, and five, of each suit being omitted; at present the sixes are also left out, so that a Piquet pack now consists of thirty-two cards only. Those who know this game well, agree that it is one of the most amusing and most complete games played with cards. It is played by two persons; twelve cards are dealt to each, and eight remain in the stock; the eldest hand may take in five of these, discarding five others instead; the youngest hand can only take in three, and discards the same number in lieu of those he has taken in. It is from this choice of cards Bullet pretends the game has its name, "for *Piquo* in Celtic signifies to choose, and the word still preserves the same meaning among the people at Besançon; choice grapes, or choice cherries are called *pique des Raisins, ou pique des Cerises.*" The word, continues Bullet, "is still in use among the military: a *Piquet* is a certain number of men chosen by companies to be ready to mount at the shortest notice." The *Pic* and *Repic* he also resolves into Celtic words, signifying doubled and redoubled, and this, he says, is precisely the meaning of these terms in this game. The Point was formerly called *Ronfle*, and this, he again pretends, is formed of two Celtic words; but his etymologies are so wild, so strained, and capricious, that they deserve but little credit. The term *Capot* signifies *frustrated*, in his favourite Celtic, and the analogy, he says, with what the term is intended to express in this game is complete. Indeed the few games he has mentioned at the end of his book, seem only intro-

called long before the Rebellion in 1745, and therefore it could not arise from the circumstance of the Duke of Cumberland's sending orders accidentally written upon this card, the night before the battle of Culloden, for General Campbell to give no quarter."

duced to afford him an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity in torturing some of the terms in them to Celtic origins. Piquet is too well known to render any further description of it necessary in this place; and with this celebrated game we shall conclude our catalogue.

Sir John Harington, in his "Apologie for Poetrie,"[1] makes mention of a play in which the game at cards seems to have been allegorized. "Or to speake of a London Comedie, how much good matter, yea and matter of state, is there in that Comedie, cal'd the play of the cards? in which it is showed, how foure parasiticall Knaues robbe the foure principall vocations of the realme, *videlicet*, the vocation of *Souldiers*, *Schollers*, *Marchants*, *and Husbandmen*." We have no means of ascertaining whether this may relate to the play of the Macke, or the Mawe, above cited from Mr. Malone's History of the Stage; for neither of these performances have come down to us, and were therefore probably never printed. It is evident that the notion of the four suits being intended to represent the four casts or orders of society, had obtained ground in England at this early period.

From among the engravings of the old German masters we have selected two which afford representations of persons playing at cards. The first, which is prefixed as a frontispiece to this volume, is from a very rare print by one of the earliest of that school, Israel Van Meck, or Meckenen, for the writers on this subject are not agreed in regard to his name, and are still less so in respect to the period at which he flourished; but it is universally admitted it was before the year 1500. This print is one of a set by the same artist which represent various scenes of familiar life, and is interesting not only as affording a correct conception of a domestic party at this game, but as a specimen of the infancy of the chalcographic art. Mr. Swaine's excellent fac-simile, is so minutely and correctly executed, as to be scarcely distinguishable from the original. It will be

[1] Prefixed to his translation of Ariosto, first printed in 1591.

seen immediately from the costume of the persons represented, that they are of no mean rank; the simplicity of manners, and modes of living at that period, are obvious from the detail in the print. The ridiculous shoes with long pointed toes, which were denominated *poulains* by the French, shew that the players are persons of fashion: the cards are obviously furnished with the German suits.

The second is a portion of a large print by an anonymous engraver, marked with the date 1500, and represents the then Duke and Duchess of Bavaria, engaged at cards. It is remarkable that in this instance the royal pair are represented to have kept a chalked score; the only card displayed presents us with the suit of hearts, which is common to both the German and French cards.—The whole print, of which this is only the centre portion, is called by Bartsch, "*le grand Bal*," and is known to the English collector by the name of "the Gala Day:" its dimensions are about twelve inches by eight. Three courtiers, each with a lady on his arm, are promenading in the front, a fourth is seated by the side of his lady on the right, and another is advancing to pay his respects to a lady seated on the same side, but more in the back ground. The usher with his rod is at the door, seemingly endeavouring to keep back the mob gathered round it, some of whom are striving to force their way in. There are four musicians in a kind of gallery on the right, and two others in a gallery of a similar kind on the left. A page is bringing in a vessel covered with a napkin, and a gentleman is apparently in waiting near to the Duke. These curious and valuable prints demonstrate that cards were a common amusement with persons of distinction at the close of the fifteenth century; and as they are probably the earliest engraved representations of the game, they were considered appropriate embellishments for this work, particularly as they, at the same time, illustrate the history of the chalcographic art.

One of the most skilful productions of engraving on wood which the sixteenth century produced, is the series of cuts familiar to every one under the title of "The Dance of Death." The origi-

Swaine fc. 12. Queen St. Golden Sq.re

From an Ancient Print in the Collection of F. Douce Esq.r

nal designs have been attributed to Holbein, and it has even been insisted that he made the drawings for the wood cuts; but this appears to be fully controverted by a passage in the preface to the first edition of them printed at Lyons in 1538. They have been with more probability given to an admirable artist by name Hans Lutzelburger. We have only incidentally mentioned this little work, and shall not enter further into the question; but, as connected with our subject, we have had one of the prints copied: the difficulty of rendering with truth and spirit, an exact fac-simile of so minute and exquisite a production, may justly make the artist who produced it proud of his labour. His success warrants this tribute to his patient merit, and we have much gratification in presenting our readers with this chef-d'œuvre of Mr. E. Byfield: it is at once a beautiful and appropriate tail-piece to the work.

All attempts at allegorizing cards, or endeavours to make them subservient to the purpose of inculcating morals or useful knowledge of any kind, have been attended with but limited success: while the evil sustained by their introduction, increasing the infatuation of play, is immeasurable and unbounded. An elegant moralist has been led to the following reflections, which the most inveterate card-player must allow to be just.

" I must confess, I think it is below reasonable creatures to be altogether conversant in such diversions as are merely innocent, and have nothing else to recommend them, but that there is no hurt in them. Whether any kind of gaming has even this much to say for itself, I shall not determine; but I think it very wonderful to see persons of the best sense passing away a dozen hours together in shuffling and dividing a pack of cards, with no other conversation but what is made up of a few game phrases, and no other ideas but those of black or red spots ranged together in different figures. Would not a man laugh to hear one of this species complaining that life is short?"[1]

The celebrated Mr. Locke is reported to have been once in company with three distinguished noblemen, his contemporaries, the lords Shaftesbury, Halifax, and Anglesea, who proposed cards, when Mr Locke declined playing, saying, he would amuse himself by looking on. During the time these noblemen were at play he was observed to busy himself by writing in his table book. At the conclusion of their play, Lord Anglesea's curiosity prompted him to ask Locke what he had been writing. His answer was, " in order that none of the advantages of your conversation might be lost, I have taken notes of it." And producing his note book, it was found to be the fact. The inanity of such a collection of disjointed jargon, it is said, had the desired effect on the three noble philosophers: the reproof was not lost upon them, and cards were never again attempted to be substituted for rational conversation, at least in the presence of Mr. Locke.

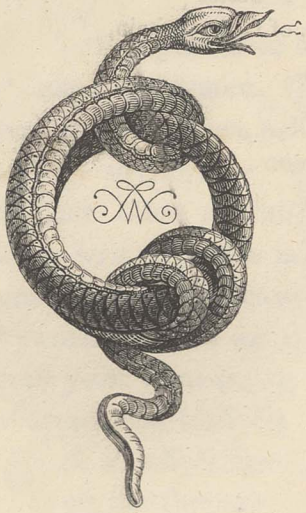
Yet cards are said to have been instrumental to the progress of civilization in having tended to humanize man by bringing him more into female society. Surely this is a satire upon the most lovely part of creation; and however necessary they may have been formerly, the present improved state of the world, and the just rank which women are now enabled, from superior education, to take

[1] Spectator, No. 93.

in society, renders cards no longer needful for this purpose. A zealous Spaniard, early in the seventeenth century,[1] loudly exclaims against the use of them: "to see cards in the hands of a woman, says he, appears as unnatural as to see a soldier with a distaff." Yet in a mixed and numerous party they may still be found to have their uses. "Let not cards therefore be depreciated; an happy invention, which adapted equally to every capacity, removes the invidious distinctions of nature, bestows on fools the pre-eminence of genius, or reduces wit and wisdom to the level of folly."[2]

[1] Entretinimientos y Juegos Honestos por el Padre Alonzo Remon Madrid 1623, 12°.

[2] Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. XII. p. 385. 8vo.



APPENDIX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Some portion of the following Appendix consists of matter referred to in the foregoing pages, and some part of it, of materials obtained too late to be of use in the compilation. Of this latter kind are the extracts from the Italian Poem on the game of *Tarocco* and the excerpta from Cardanus: we regretted that we had been unable to give a description of the game of *Trappola*, and these extracts furnish it.

It has been thought advisable to reprint the little Essay upon Cards by the Abbé Rive entire, as it has become so extremely scarce, that an application to obtain it of the principal Booksellers in Paris and London has been repeatedly made by a friend without success. The curious extracts from Court de Gebelin's Dissertation are also given because his voluminous work is but in few hands. The reader will be pleased to see the important paper of Dr. Buchan in this place, and we are happy to be instrumental in giving it to the Public. The information afforded by the kindness of J. P. Cruden, Esq. calls for our grateful thanks.

No apology is offered for printing the documents in this Appendix in their respective original languages; the substance of most of them is already to be found in the book, and they are only here collected with a view to those who may be desirous of comparison, or further investigation.

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APPENDIX.

N° I.

ECCLAIRCISSEMENTS HISTORIQUES ET CRITIQUES SUR L'INVENTION DES CARTES A JOUER.

Par M. L'Abbé RIVE.

On prétend communément que l'invention des cartes à jouer est due aux François, & qu'elle est du regne de leur Roi Charles VI. Un des principaux auteurs de cette opinion est le pere Menestrier, Jésuite. Elle est passée, de sa *Bibliotheque curieuse & instructive,*[1] dans un Mémoire du pere Daniel, son confrere,[2] dans l'*Encyclopédie,*[3] dans l'*Art de vérifier les dates,*[4] dans la *Continuation de l'Histoire de France* de l'Abbé Velly, par Villaret,[5] dans le *Dictionnaire Historique des Mœurs, Usages & Coutumes des François,*[6] dans l'*Histoire de l'Inauguration des Souverains,*[7] & dans la nouvelle édition qu'on a faite à Neuchatel de l'*Art du Cartier* publié par M. Duhamel du Monceau,[8] &c.

Elle a deux parties dont l'une & l'autre sont fausses. Bullet[9] en a admis la premiere, en disant que les cartes à jouer ont été inventées en France. Il en a rejetté la seconde, en reculant leur invention sous le regne de Charles V. Roi de France, & en la datant d'environ l'an 1376, quatre ou cinq ans avant le regne de Charles VI. son suc-

[1] Menestrier, *Bibliotheque curieuse & instructive*, tome 2, p. 174, *in*-12.

[2] Voyez ce Mémoire. Il a pour objet l'origine du jeu de Piquet, trouvée dans l'*Histoire de France* sous le regne de Charles VII. Il est du pere Daniel. (Voyez. p. 68. des *Recherches historiques sur les Cartes à jouer*, par Bullet, Lyon, J. Deville, 1757, *in*-8.) Il est inséré dans le *Journal de Trévoux* du mois de Mai 1720, p. 934—968, & dans le tome 77 du *Nouveau Choix de Pieces*, par M. de la Place, p. 7.

[3] Encyclopédie, tom. 2, p. 711; col. 2. édit. de Paris.

[4] Art de vérifier les dates, *in-fol.* p. 559, col. 1.

[5] Histoire de France de l'Abbé Velly & de Villaret, *in*-4. tome 6, Saillant & Nyon, Paris, 1770, p. 308.

[6] Dictionnaire historique des Mœurs des François, par la Chesnaye-es-Bois, tome 1, p. 374.

[7] Histoire de l'Inauguration des Souverains, *in*-8. Paris, Moutard, 1776, p. 338.

[8] Voyez *l'Art du Cartier* par M. Duhamel du Monceau, réimprimé à Neuchatel par les soins de J. E. Bertrand, Professeur en Belles-Lettres à Neuchatel, &c. tome 4, de la nouvelle édition des *Arts & Métiers*, 1771 — 1776, *in* 4. &c. note 3; p. 619, § 6. C'est le nouvel editeur qui est auteur de cette note fautive.

[9] Bullet, ci-dessus, p. 41.

cesseur.[1] Jean Albert Fabricius,[2] Schœpflin,[3] Fournier,[4] de Vigny[5] & Saint-Foix,[6] ont adopté son avis.

Meerman[7] a réfuté Bullet sur l'époque de cette invention. Il l'a remontée neuf ans plus haut que lui, sous le même regne; & il l'a fixée vers l'an 1367: mais il ne nous a pas appris en quelle partie du monde les cartes à jouer ont pris naissance.

La Marre[8], & l'Abbé le Gendre[9], les font venir de la Lydie. Leur opinion est si dénuée de vraisemblance, qu'elle ne mérite pas d'être citée.

L'Abbé de Longuerue[10] & le Baron de Heineken[11] ont cru, l'un qu'elles ont été inventées en Italie dans le quatorzieme siecle, & l'autre en Allemagne, sur la fin du treizieme. Ils n'ont deviné, ni la nation, ni l'epoque auxquelles il faut en rapporter l'invention.

Les cartes sont au moins de l'an 1330; & ce n'est, ni en France, ni en Italie, ni en Allemagne, qu'elles paroissent pour la premiere fois. On les voit en Espagne vers cette année, & bien long-temps avant qu'on en trouve la moindre trace dans aucune autre nation.

Elles y ont été inventées par un nommé *Nicolao Pepin.*[12] C'est ce que Bullet[13] n'a pas su. Le nom de *Naipes*, que les Espagnols leur ont donné,[14] a été formé des lettres N. P. qui sont les initiales des deux noms de leur Inventeur[15]. On lit cette étymologie dans le *Dictionnaire de la langue Castillane*, composé par l'Académie Royale d'Espagne.[16]

Bullet a dérivé le mot *Naipes*, du mot Basque *Napa*, qui signifie *plat, uni.*[17] Comme il s'agit d'un fait dont les Savants du pays doivent être mieux instruits que lui, nous préférons à son étymologie celle qui est dans ce Dictionnaire.

Les Italiens, en recevant des Espagnols les cartes à jouer, leur ont donné à-peu près le même nom, & ils les ont appellées *Naibi*. La Chronique de Giovan Morelli,

[1] Bullet, p. 40.

[2] Voyez J. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, *in*-4. Hamburgi, 1760, p. 984, cap. 22.

[3] Schœpflin, *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*, *in*-4. p. 6, note *(n)*, Argentorati, 1760.

[4] Fournier, *Dissertation sur l'origine & les progrès de l'Art de graver en bois, &c.* Paris, J. Barbou, 1758, p. 25.

[5] De Vigny. Voyez, sur les cartes, le *Mémoire sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*, que cet auteur fit insérer dans le *Journal Economique*, *in*-8. Paris, Antoine Boudet, en Mars de 1758, p. 117. Il étoit architecte, intendant des bâtiments de Mgr. le Duc d'Orleans, & membr. de la Société Royale de Londres.

[6] Saint-Foix, p. 330 du tome 3 de l'édition de ses œuvres, *in*-8. Paris, veuve Duchesne, 1778.

[7] Meerman, *Origines Typographicæ*, *in*-4. Hagæ-Comitum, 2 tomes, note *(n)*, page 222 du premier tome.

[8] La Marre, *Traité de la Police*, *in-fol.* 4 tomes, p. 447 du tome 1, col. 1.

[9] L'Abbé le Gendre, *Mœurs des François*, Paris, Briasson, 1753, *in*-12. p. 215.

[10] L'Abbé de Longuerue. Voyez le *Longueruana*, 1754, *in*-12. 2 tomes, Berlin, tome 1, p. 108.

[11] Le Baron de Heineken, Conseiller Privé des Finances de son Altesse Electorale de Saxe. Voyez son *Idée générale d'une Collection d'Estampes*, *in*-8. à Leipsic & Vienne, &c. p. 241, note *(r)*.

[12] Tome 4 du *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana, &c.* En Madrid, anno 1734, en la Imprenta de la Real Academia Española: in-fol. p. 646, col. 1.

[13] Bullet, ci dessus, note *(e)*, p. 5.

[14], [15], [16] Tome 4 du *Diccion. de la Leng. Castell. &c.* ci dessus, note 12.

[17] Bullet, *Mémoires sur la Langue Celtique*, à Besançon, 1760, *in-fol.* tome 3, p. 192, col. 1, & *Recherches sur les Cartes à jouer*, p. 134.

qui est de l'an 1393,[1] & que Bullet[2] n'a pas connue, nous les présente sous cette dénomination.[3] Les Editeurs du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie de la Crusca*, réimprimé en en 1733 à Florence, en 6 vol. *in-fol.*,[4] & l'Abbé Alberti[5] qui les a copiés, ont ignoré la véritable signification du mot *Naibi*. Ce mot a été ensuite latinisé : les cartes sont nommées *Naibes* dans une Vie Latine de Saint Bernardin de Sienne, qui mourut en 1444. Cette Vie a été écrite par un nommé *Bernabeus*, contemporain & compatriote de ce Saint. Les Bollandistes l'ont insérée dans leur Collection hagiologique;[6] mais

[1] Cette Chronique a été imprimée pour la premiere fois à Florence en 1728, *in*-4. *nella Stamperia di S. A. R. per Gio. Gaetano Tartini, e Santi Franchi.* On la trouve à la suite du livre suivant : *Istoria Fiorentina di Ricordano Malespini.*

[2] Le plus ancien témoignage que Bullet a rapporté sur ce nom, est celui de l'auteur de la Vie Latine de S. Bernardin, qui est postérieure à l'an 1444, Voyez *Recherches sur les Cartes à jouer*, p. 135.

[3] Non giuocare a zara, nè ad altro giuoco di dadi, fa de' giuochi che usano i fanciulli; agli aliossi, alla trottola, a' ferri, a' *naibi*, &c. p. 270 de l'édition citée ci-dessus, note 1.

[4] *Naibi* (disent ces editeurs) *sorta di giuoco fanciullesco*, & ils renvoient à la Chronique de Giovan Morelli. Voyez le tome 3, *in Firenze* 1733, *appresso Domenico Maria Manni* in-fol. p. 316, col. 2. Il est vrai que cet auteur regarde les *Naibes* comme un jeu d'enfants; mais cela n'empêche pas de croire que ce jeu ne se jouât avec des cartes. Cela est si vrai, que Luigi Pulci ne l'a pas entendu autrement dans son *Morgante Maggiore*, liv. 7, stance 67, Londra (Parigi) 1768, appresso Marcello Prault, in-12. tome 1, p. 190:

Gridava il gigante :
Tu sei quí, Re de naibi, o di scacchi
Col mio battaglio convien ch'io t'ammachi.

Le mot *Naibi* ne peut signifier dans ce passage autre chose que les cartes. C'est ce que les mêmes editeurs qui l'on cité, auroient dû observer. Ce qui ne laisse aucun doute, c'est ce qu'on lit dans la Vie de Saint Bernardin de Sienne, écrite par le nommé Bernabeus, dont nous avons déja parlé, & insérée dans le tome 5 du mois de Mai du *Acta Sanctorum* des Bollandistes, p. 277*—287.*

L'auteur de cette Vie dit que ce Saint obtint, par ses prédications, un si grand empire sur le cœur des Siennois, qu'ils s'interdirent les jeux de *naibes*, de dez, &c....." Ludi verò taxillorum non solùm suo "justu deleti fuere, sed coram Gubernatore hujus " Reipublicæ *naibes*, taxillos, tesseras & instru- " menta insuper lignea, super quæ avare irreligiosi " ludi fiebant, combustos esse præcepit, p. 281,* " col. 1."

Si les *Naibes* n'eussent été alors qu'un jeu d'enfants, ce saint auroit-il déclamé contre elles & son historien, qui étoit son contemporain & son compatriote, auroit il observé que la République de Sienne, ou ils avoient pris naissance l'un & l'autre, avoit, d'après ses prédications, proscrit les *Naibes*, & fait brûler toutes celles qu'elle avoit pu trouver dans son territoire ?

La Chronique de Giovan Morelli, loin de prouver que les *Naibes* n'étoient pas les cartes à jouer, prouve au contraire que lorsqu'elles passerent d'Espagne en Italie, vers les premiers temps de leur invention, elles y furent décriées, & n'y servirent qu'à amuser les enfants, à cause de leurs figures. Mais le temps, qui ne cesse de miner sourdement les barrieres que les mœurs opposent à la licence, apprivoisa insensiblement les Italiens, & leur inspira la passion des cartes. Les jeux d'enfants ne s'abolissent guere; il y a cependant près de deux siecles que celui des *Naibes* n'est plus réputé jeu d'enfants en Italie, témoin Bartholomeo Arnigio, qui, parlant en 1602 des jeux d'enfants qui avoient cours alors dans sa nation, ne nomme pas les *Naibes*. " I nostri fan- " ciulli hoggi oltre que gli (sic) giuocano a capo a " nascondere, alla mutola, a far sonagli, alle pal- " mate, a mosca cieca, a nascondi lepre, alla capra " capriuola, a scarca barili, a ditto sotto mano, a " prima, & seconda, alla buca, al passer è nel pa- " nico, alla forbice, alle mulette, a cicirlanda, & a " molte altre speci dei giuochi, ne' quali la fanciul- " lesca semplicità ne' teneri anni si trastulla, &c." Voyez le *Diece Veglie di Bartolomeo Arnigio. De gli ammendati Costumi dell' humana vita, &c.* In Treviso, appresso Vangelista Deuchino, 1602, *in*-4.

[5] L'Abbé Alberti : *Nuovo Dizionario Italiano-Francese, &c.* In Marsiglia, presso Giovanni Mossy, 1772, *in* 4. p. 540, col. 2. Ce dictionnaire Italien-François est jusqu'à présent le meilleur de tous ceux qui existent.

[6] Les Bollandistes, ci-dessus, note 4.

ils se sont trompés en croyant que le mot *Naibes* signifie un *cornet à jouer aux dez.*[1] Les derniers editeurs du *Glossaire de la moyenne & basse Latinité*, par Ducange, sont tombés dans la même erreur.[2] Ils ont été les uns & les autres relevés par Bullet.[3]

Si nous attribuons aux Espagnols l'invention des cartes à jouer, c'est à cause qu'ils produisent la premiere piece qui en atteste l'existence. Elles sont prohibées par les statuts d'un Ordre de Chevalerie qui fut établi en Espagne vers l'an 1332.[4] Cet Ordre, dont il n'existe aujourd'hui plus de vestiges, avoit pour nom *l'Ordre de la Bande.* Alphonse XI. Roi de Castille, fils du Roi Dom Ferdinand IV, & de la Reine Constance, en fut l'Instituteur.[5] Garibay,[6] Mariana,[7] Jean de Ferreras[8] & Bonanni,[9] ne nous en ont pas conserve les Statuts. Dom Antoine de Guevare, evêque de Mondonedo, prédicateur & chroniqueur de l'Empereur Charles V. en a publié une copie dans ses Epitres. Elles sont divisées en cinq livres, & écrites en Espagnol. Nous en connoissons quelques livres traduits en Italien.[10] Ils l'ont tous été en François.[11] Les trois

[1] Les mêmes, ci-dessus, note 4. p. 281. " *Naibum* credo " hîc dici fritillum, seu alveolum aleatorium," p. 282,* col. 1, note (*c*).

Une preuve que le mot *Naibes*, dont cet historien s'est servi, signifie les cartes à jouer, c'est qu'il est sûr que S. Bernardin de Sienne a déclamé contre elles : *Ne omninò ludant ad Taxillos, ad Aleas, ad Trinquetum neque ad Chartas.* Voyez son sermon 42 sur la passion, dans les *Recherches sur les cartes à jouer*, par Bullet, p. 18.

On ne lit pas le mot *Charta* dans l'énumération des jeux que l'auteur de la Vie de Saint Bernardin a faite ; mais on y lit celui de *Naibes*. C'est donc par celui-ci qu'il a voulu signifier ce que S. Bernardin a nommé cartes *(chartas)*. Au reste, le passage que Bullet attribue à S. Bernardin de Sienne, est pris du Synode de Langres tenu en 1404. Voyez Thiers, ci-dessous, note 76, p 254.

[2] Gloss. de la Moyenne & Basse Latinité de Ducange. Paris, Osmont 1733, tom 4, col. 1135.

[3] Bullet. ci-dessus, note *(e)*, p. 135.

[4] Puisque les cartes sont mentionées dans les statuts d'un Ordre qui a été fondé en 1332, elles doivent avoir été inventées quelque temps auparavant. C'est pour cela que nous en avons fixé l'invention vers l'an 1330.

[5] Les auteurs qui ont parlé de l'établissement de l'Ordre de la Bande ne sont pas d'accord sur l'année en laquelle il fut créé.

Antoine de Guevare & Honnoré de Sainte-Marie (page 156 de ses *Dissertations historiques & critiques sur la Chevalerie, in*-4), en ont daté la création de l'an 1330.

Estevan de Garibay, *Compendio Historial de las Chronicas y Universal Historia de todos los Reynos d'Espana, &c.* en Anvers por Christophoro Plantino 1571, *in-fol.* 4 tomes, p. 887, tome 2. Mariana *(de Rebus Hispan.* lib. 16, Toleti, *in-fol.* 1595, cap. 2, p. 747, & page 417 du tome 3 de la version Françoise de son Histoire par le pere Joseph-Nicolas Charenton, Jésuite, *in*-4, Paris, le Mercier, &c. 1725) ; & Ferreras (*Histoire générale d'Espagne*, part 7, quatorzieme siecle, & page 46 du tome 5 de la version Françoise de d'Hermilly, *in*-4. Paris, 1751), ont dit qu'il fut établi en 1332.

Le pere Heliot (dans son *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux & Militaires, in*-4. Paris, J. B. Coignard, 1719, tome 8, p. 291) a été flottant entre ces deux dates. Il en a adopté tantôt l'une, & tantôt l'autre.

L'auteur de l'*Histoire des Ordres Militaires*, imprimée en 4 vol. *in*-8. a Amsterdam, chez Pierre Brunel, en 1721, a été dans la même indécision, tome 2, p. 329.

La Roque a prétendu qu'l n'a été institué qu'en 1338. Il s'est trompé. Voyez p. 380 de son *Traité de la Noblesse in*-4. Paris, Etienne Michallet, 1678, *in*-4.

Le Jésuite Philippe Bonanni a tranché toute difficulté, en ne disant pas un mot sur l'année de son établissement. Voyez *Ordinum Equestrium & Militarium Catalogus in imaginibus expositus, &c. Roma, editio tertia,* 1724, *typis Georgii Plachi, in*-4.) latinè & italicè), num. 11.

[6] Garibay, ci-dessus, note 5.

[7] Mariana, ci-dessus, note 5.

[8] Jean de Ferreras, ci-dessus, note 5.

[9] Bonanni, ci-dessus, note 5.

[10], [11] Voyez Nicolas Antoine, dans son *Bibliotheca Hispana (nova)*. Romæ ex Offic. Nicolai Angeli Tinassii. 1672. *in-fol.* tome 2, p. 99, col. 2, & p 100, col. 1.

premiers ont été imprimés en Espagnol en 1539 à Valladolid *(Pintiæ)* par Jean de Villaquiran. Nicolas Antoine, qui a cité cette édition,[1] n'en a pas indiqué le format. Elle est très rare : il n'y en a aucun exemplaire, ni dans la bibliotheque du Roi, ni dans celle de M. le Duc de la Valliere, ni dans beaucoup d'autres auxquelles nous avons eu recours. C'est ce qui nous a empêchés de la consulter. Ces mêmes livres ont été réimprimés *in*-8. en 1578 à Anvers, chez Pedro Bellero. Nicolas Antoine n'a pas connu cette réimpression. Elle est infidelle & incorrecte : il n'y a pas, jusqu'à sa date, qui ne soit estropiée; elle porte D.M.LXXVIII pour M.D.LXXVIII. Le Roi en a un exemplaire que M. l'Abbé Desaunais a eu la bonté de nous communiquer.

Nous ne faisons aucun fond sur cette édition; elle est tronquée à l'endroit où les statuts de l'Ordre de la Bande interdisent les jeux de cartes.

Elle a été exécutée dans un siecle où la passion que les Espagnols ont toujours eue pour les cartes, étoit devenue encore plus ardente,[2] & dans une ville qui étoit autrefois de leur dépendance : c'est pour cela que celui qui en a eu la direction l'a mutilée. Les raisons que nous venons d'alléguer ont eu peut-être un effet bien antérieur. La premiere édition qui a été imprimée environ trente-neuf ans auparavant, est peut-être également châtrée. Ce qui nous le fait soupçonner, c'est que nous n'avons vu aucune trace des cartes à jouer dans la version Italienne que Dominique de Catzelu a donnée des deux premiers Livres de ces Epitres. L'édition que nous en avons vérifiée est celle que Gabriel Giolito de Ferrare a imprimée en 1558 à Venise, en 2 vol. *in*-8, & dont Nicolas Antoine n'a pas eu connoissance.[3]

[1] Nicol. Ant. ci-dessus.

[2] Les Espagnols ont tojours aimé passionement les cartes. Leurs rois s'y sont pris au commencement avec beaucoup d'adresse pour les en éloigner. Alphonse XI. Roi de Castile, en établissant son Ordre de la Bande, fit jurer les Chevaliers qu'il recevoit, de ne pas y jouer. Il crut inspirer par-là de l'éloignement pour les cartes aux Gentilshommes qui desiroient d'être décorés de cet Ordre. Mais cette adresse politique n'eut pas un succès assez efficace; la privation de cette faveur royale ne fut pas un frein assez puissant : ses successeurs furent obligés de les interdire par le glaive des loix. Jean I. roi de Castille, les défendit par son Edit de 1387. Voyez Molina, *de Ludo*, dans Bullet, page 18.

Cette défense, loin d'étouffer en Espagne la passion pour les cartes, la rendit plus ardente. Le Ministere y fut forcé, dans le siecle suivant, de s'armer de nouveaux foudres. Ferdinand V. dit le Catholique, qui monta sur le trône en 1474 (Voyez l'*Art de vérifier les dates*, p. 819, col. 1, *in-fol.*), y décerna des peines encore plus fortes contre les joueurs de cartes. Voyez Marineus Siculus, dans le *Traité des Jeux & des Divertisements*, par. J. B. Thiers, à Paris, Antoine Dezallier, 1686, *in*-12. p. 186 & 187.

Les habitudes invétérées jettent des racines trop profondes pour pouvoir être extirpées. Un auteur Flamand, appellé Pascasius Justus, qui florissoit 1540, & qui avoit voyagé en France, en Italie & en Espagne, nous peint les Espagnols du seizieme siecle comme la nation la plus passionnée pour les jeux, et principalement pour les jeux de cartes. Il raconte là-dessus un fait bien remarquable : " J'ai traversé, dit-il, plusieurs villages " d'Espagne où je n'ai trouvé ni pain ni vin à ven- " dre; mais je ne suis passé par aucun où je n'aie " trouvé des cartes. . . *Hispani homines omnium quos* " *novi & maximè ludunt, & naturâ ad ludum max-* " *imè sunt propensi . . .*" Plus bas : " *Jam diu* " *longè lateque Hispanias lustranti mihi sæpè con-* " *tigit, ut cùm multis locis nihil eorum quæ ad vic-* " *tum faciunt, non panem, non vinum, invenire* " *possem; tamen nunquam Castellum aut vicum ul-* " *lum adeò abjectum & obscurum transire potui, in* " *quo non cartulæ vœnirent.*" Page 40 & 41 du Traité suivant . . . *Pascasii Justi, de Alea, libri duo.* Amsterodami, apud Ludovic. Elzevirium, anno 1642. *in*-18.

[3] Nicolas Antoine, ci-dessus. p. 282, note 10. 11.

C'est à la version François du Seigneur de Guterry, docteur en médecine, que nous nous en rapportons. La défense de jouer aux cartes y est exprimée ainsi :[1]

" Comandoit leur ordre que nul des chevaliers de la bande n'osast ioüer argent aux " cartes ou dez."

Le Seigneur de Guterry ne cite aucune édition Espagnole dont il se soit servi ; il assure qu'il a traduit sur le texte : c'est donc sur un manuscrit Espagnol qu'il doit avoir fait sa Version. Elle a paru pour la premiere fois en 1558.[2] Il y en avoit déja au moins quatre éditions en 1573.[3] Elles portent toutes la même défense. Elle devoit donc être contenue dans le manuscrit d'après lequel le Seigneur de Guterry a traduit. S'il l'avoit insérée de sa propre autorité dans sa version, n'auroit-on pas réclamé contre sa fraude, & l'auroit-on copiée dans toutes les éditions que nous en avons vues ? A peine la premiere sortit de la presse, qu'on se souleva en France contre elle : on s'y récria contre divers passages d'une lettre, qui blessoient la délicatesse de nos mœurs nationales. On supprima cette lettre dans les éditions postérieures :[4] c'est ce qui en rendit la premiere extrêmement rare.

Le Seigneur de Guterry n'auroit donc pu faire cette insertion sans exciter les cris, non-seulement des François, mais encore des Espagnols. Les uns & les autres l'auroient accusé de falsification : ceux-là, parcequ'il leur auroit ravi une invention dont ils ont jusqu'à présent fait honneur au regne de leur Roi Charles VI. ceux-ci, parcequ'ils auroient cru être offensées en voyant que le Seigneur de Guterry produisoit contre eux une piece fausse qui flétrissoit dans leur origine les cartes dont ils sont les inventeurs, & pour lesquelles ils ont toujours eu une affection très marquée.

Mais supposons que les François & les Espagnols se fussent tus sur cette fraude,

[1] Voyez la page 146 de la premiere edition de cette version, sous ce titre : *Epistres Dorées moralles & familieres de Don Antoine de Guevare, evesque de Mondonedo, &c.* A Lyon par Macé Bonhomme, 1558, *in*-4. Cette edition ne contient que le premier livre de cette version. Elle est en lettres rondes, & à longues lignes.

Voyez la page 183 de celle de Jehan Ruelle, *in*-8. Paris, 1570, col. 1, la page 183 de celle d'Olivier de Harsy, *in*-8. Paris, 1573, col. 1, &c. Ces deux dernieres editions sont aussi en lettres rondes ; mais elles sont exécutées sur deux colonnes, & sous ce titre : *Les Epistres dorées, & Discours salutaires de Don Antoine de Guevare, &c.* Elles sont divisées en trois livres. Les deux premiers sont traduits par le Seigneur de Gutterry, & le troisieme, par Antoine du Pinet.

[2] Voyez la note précédente.

[3] Il y a eu, depuis l'an 1558 jusqu'en 1573, au moins quatre editions de la version Françoise que le Seigneur de Guterry a donnée des premiers livres des Epitres familieres de Don Antoine de Guevare, à savoir les trois que nous avons indiquées dans la note 1, & une autre que Duverdier a citée. Elle a été imprimée à Paris *in*-8. en 1563 par Galliot Du-Pré. Voyez le second tom de la nouvelle edition de sa *Biblioth.* 440.

Nous ne regardons pas comme une cinquieme edition de la version Françoise des trois premiers livres de ces Epitres, celle qui a vu le jour à Paris en 1573, *in*-8. sous le nom de Claude Gautier. Elle est exactement la même que celle d'Olivier de Harsy. Elle n'en differe que par le changement du Fleuron qui est sur son titre, & par les noms du Libraire dont elle porte l'adresse. C'est ce que nous avons vérifié.

Duverdier n'a connu que deux des éditions que nous avons mentionnées, & Nicolas Antoine n'en a indiqué aucune. Voyez *Biblioth. Hispana nova*, tome 1, p. 100, col. 1.

[4] Cette Lettre est dans le premier livre de la premiere edition ; elle a pour titre : *Lettre à Mosen Rubin Gentilhomme de Valance la Grande, par laquelle sont recités les ennuys que donnent les Dames amoureuses à leurs amys.* Voyez p. 162—165.

celui qui fit réimprimer le texte en 1578 à Anvers, se seroit-il contenté de supprimer cette défense dans son édition, sans reprocher au Seigneur de Guterry de l'avoir gratuitement supposée? Nous avons déja observé qu'il y avoit alors au moins quatre éditions de sa version, & qu'elles contiennent toutes la même défense.

Peut-on se persuader, d'après notre observation, que le nouvel editeur du texte n'eût pas taxé ces éditions d'infidélité, s'il eût osé le faire? Il s'est tu; parcequ'il a lui-même, ou mutilé le texte, ou su qu'il faut attribuer cette mutilation à la mauvaise foi de celui qui en a été le premier editeur.

La Croix du Maine n'a pas fait mention du Seigneur de Guterry. La maniere dont Duverdier en a parlé dans sa *Bibliotheque*, dont la premiere édition est de 1585, prouve que ce traducteur étoit alors encore vivant.[1] C'est pour cela que l'editeur d'Anvers a craint de se compromettre avec lui, en lui imputant une fausseté dont il savoit bien qu'il n'étoit pas l'auteur. Il ne pouvoit prendre aucune tournure pour lui faire cette imputation: il ne pouvoit pas l'accuser d'ignorer la langue Espagnole, & d'avoir glissé dans sa version le mot *Cartes* par défaut d'intelligence du texte; il ne devoit pas ignorer que le Seigneur de Guterry étoit Navarrois, & qu'il avoit été élevé en Espagne dès sa plus tendre enfance:[2] il ne pouvoit intenter une accusation contre lui que sur les plus fortes preuves; son silence manifeste l'impuissance où il a été d'en produire aucune & rend indubitable la mutilation que nous l'accusons d'avoir faite.

Il est bien singulier que le pere Héliot, qui a tiré de la version Françoise du Seigneur de Guterry[3] l'extrait des statuts de l'Ordre de la Bande, qu'on lit dans son *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux & Militaires*, en ait supprimé la défense de jouer aux cartes.

Il y apparence que n'ayant écrit qu'après le pere Menestrier, il a trop déféré à son autorité; & que s'il n'a pas fait mention de cette défense, c'est parcequ'il n'a pas osé combattre l'opinion de ce Jésuite sur les inventeurs & l'époque de l'invention des cartes. Comme l'auteur de l'*Histoire des Ordres Militaires* qui a été imprimée à Amsterdam en 4 vol. *in*-8. en 1721, a copié le pere Héliot, il a omis aussi la même défense, tome 2, p. 331, art. 10.

Quoique j'aie l'honneur d'appartenir à la nation Françoise, la vérité, qui est ma suprême regle, m'empêche de lui attribuer cette invention. L'homme de lettres doit, dans tout ce qui n'intéresse point la société politique, dont il est membre, être un vrai cosmopolite, & n'avoir que l'univers pour patrie. Les rivalités littéraires sont puériles; elles ne doivent leur germe qu'à la médiocrité des talents, & à l'exiguité des connoissances.

[1] Voyez la note précédente.

[2] Voyez l'epitre dédicatoire qui est à la tête de la premiere edition; elle est adressée à Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine. Elle est imprimée en François & en Espagnol sur deux feuillets séparés. Elle n'est pas dans les autres editions que nous avons rapportées.

[3] Ce qui prouve que le pere Heliot ne s'est servi que de la version Françoise du Seigneur de Guterry c'est qu'en citants les Epitres d'Antoine de Guevare, il les a appellées *Epitres dorées*, tome 8, p. 294. Elles ne portent ce nom que sur le titre de cette Version. Elles sont appellées *Epistolas familiares* dans les éditions Espagnoles.

Pour rendre notre découverte plus sûre, prévenons deux objections que l'on pourroit nous faire.

1°. On peut emprunter de Bullet la preuve dont il s'est servi pour faire honneur de l'invention des cartes aux François, & la tourner contre nous, de la façon suivante. Il y a eu des fleurs de lys sur les figures des cartes de presque toutes les nations de l'Europe. Ces fleurs sont le symbole de la France. Les cartes ont donc été inventées dans ce Royaume. [1]

Cette objection n'a rien d'embarrassant. A peine les cartes furent inventées en Espagne, qu'elles y furent décriées, & que ceux qui aspiroient au nouvel Ordre de Chevalerie qu'Alphonse XI. y avoit créé, faisoient serment de ne pas y jouer.

De l'Espagne, elles passerent, environ trente ans aprés, en France, où elles ne furent pas mieux accueillies. Le Petit-Jehan de Saintré ne fut honoré des faveurs de Charles V. que parcequ'il ne jouoit ni aux dez ni aux cartes. [2]

Ce roi les proscrivit, ainsi que plusieurs autres jeux, par son edit de 1369. [3] On les décria dans diverses provinces de la France. On y donna à quelques-unes de leurs figures des noms faits pour inspirer de l'horreur. En Provence, on en appella les valets *Tuchim*. Ce nom désignoit une race de voleurs qui, en 1361, avoient causé dans ce pays, & dans le comtat Venaissin, un ravage si horrible, que les Papes furent obligés de faire prêcher une Croisade pour les exterminer. [4] Les cartes ne furent introduites dans la Cour de France que sous le successeur de Charles V. On craignit même, en les y introduisant, de blesser la décence, & on imagina en conséquence un prétexte : ce fut celui de calmer la mélancolie de Charles VI. dans les instants lucides où ce malheureux roi entrevoyoit son état. [5] On inventa, sous Charles VII. [6] le jeu de Piquet. Ce jeu fut cause que les cartes se répandirent, de la France, dans plusieurs autres parties de l'Europe. Certaines figures en étoient ornées de fleurs de lys. Les autres nations qui les reçurent de la France, n'en changerent pas d'abord le costume. De-là vient qu'on vit aussi le même symbole sur celles qu'elles firent peindre. Qu'on juge, par ce que

[1] Bullet, ci-dessus, page 41. Il a tiré ce raisonnement de la page 175 du tome 2 de la *Bibliotheque Curieuse & instructive* du pere Menestrier.

[2] Chronique du Petit-Jehan de Saintré, chap. 13, p. 142, tome 1, *in*-12, Paris, 1724, édition de Gueullette, & dans Bullet, ci-dessus, p. 40 & 41.

[3] Voyez cette Ordonnance dans Bullet, ci-dessus, p. 13. Les cartes n'y sont pas nommées ; Meerman a judicieusement observé qu'elles y sont comprises dans ces mots, *& tous autres tels geux qui ne chéent point*. Voyez Meerman, ci-dessus, note 16.

[4] Voyez l'*Histoire & Chronique de Provence* de César de Nostradamus, à Lyon, chez Simon Rigaud, 1614, *in-fol.* p. 411.

[5] Il y a un registre de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris, dans lequel on lit qu'il fut payé à Jaquemin Gringonneur, Peintre, la somme de 56 sols parisis, pour trois jeux de cartes à or & à diverses couleurs, de plusieurs devises, pour porter devers ledit Seigneur (roy), pour son ébatement. Menestrier, ci-dessus, p. 175, tome 2 ; Bullet, ci-dessus, p. 26 ; Saint-Fox, p. 330, tome 3 de ses œuvres ; & le Baron de Heincken, p. 237, ci-dessus, on rapporté ce compte.

Le Baron de Heineken s'est trompé en disant qu'il est de 59 sols parisis. Il n'est que de 56.

Saint-Foix a cru y lire que Jaquemin Gringonneur à inventé les cartes à jouer. Il y a vu ce qu'aucun bon critique n'y verra. Ce compte porte simplement que Jacquemin Gringonneur peignoit de ces sortes de cartes.

[6] Voyez le Mémoire du pere Daniel sur le jeu de Piquet, ci-dessus, note 2 ; & Bullet, ci-dessus, p. 68.

nous venons de dire, si ce symbole prouve que les cartes doivent leur origine à la France.

Mais voici un raisonnement absolument péremptoire. Bullet a observé, dans une autre dissertation,[1] qu'on trouve des fleurs de lys sur des monuments Romains du haut & du moyen âge, sur les sceptres & les couronnes de divers empereurs d'occident, de divers rois de Castille, & de la Grande Bretagne, avant que les Normands en eussent fait la conquête. Cela étant, pourquoi les Espagnols, en inventant les cartes, n'auroient ils pas pu en orner les figures de fleurs de lys? Il est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'ils l'ont fait, que l'invention des cartes est postérieure, de peu de temps, à la mort de leur Saint Roi Ferdinand, dont la couronne étoit tout fleurdelisée.[2]

2°. On peut nous objecter, d'après Papillon,[3] que les cartes sont nées en France, & qu'elles sont bien plus anciennes que nous ne l'avons dit. Cet auteur a cité une ordonnance fait par S. Louis en 1254, & il a renvoyé au recueil de Blanchard.

Il est vrai que S. Louis fit, en Décembre de cette année,[4] une ordonnance, par laquelle il défendit de jouer & de donner à jouer aux dez, aux dames & aux échecs; mais il n'y parla pas des cartes, parcequ'elles n'étoient pas encore inventées. La copie que Blanchard a suivie étoit fautive. Celle qui est dans le premier tome de la nouvelle édition des *Ordonnances des Rois de France de la troisieme Race*, est bien plus exacte:[5] les cartes n'y sont, ni nommées, ni désignées. Elles ne le sont pas non plus dans un fragment de la même ordonnance, que le savant Thiers a rapporté dans son *Traité des Jeux*.[6]

[1] Bullet. Voyez sa *Dissertation sur les fleurs de lys* (p. 10, 11, 12, 13 & 14). Elle est insérée dans le recueil qu'il a fait imprimer sous ce titre: *Dissertation sur différents sujets de l'Histoire de France*, à Besançon, &c. 1759, *in*-8. Les citations n'en sont aucunement exactes, sur-tout les deux de la page 14, qui renvoient aux Bollandistes.

[2] Voyez ce que Bullet dit sur la couronne de Saint Ferdinand, dans sa dissertation sur les fleurs de lis, p. 14. Il y renvoie au tom 5 du mois de Mai des Bollandistes. Nous l'avons beaucoup feuilleté. Comme Bullet n'en a pas indiqué la page, nous n'avons pas pu y trouver ce qui concerne cette couronne. Saint Ferdinand mourut le 30 Mai de l'an 1252. Voyez Mariana, liv. 13, an 1250—1252, & p. 51 du tome 3 de la version Françoise.

[3] Papillon, tome 1 de son *Traité de la Gravure en bois*, p. 80.

[4] Tome 1 des *Ordonnances des Rois de France de la troisieme Race*, Paris, de l'Imprim. Royale, *in-fol.* 1723, p. 61—75.

[5] Cette ordonnance est imprimée en Latin & en François dans l'édition qui est citée dans la note précédente. L'article Latin en est le trente-cinquieme, & le François le vingt-huitieme. Voici l'un & l'autre:

Preterea prohibemus districtè ut nullus homo ludat ad Taxillos, sive aleis aut scaccis; scholas autem deciorum prohibemus & prohiberi volumus omninò, & tenenter eas districtius puniantur. Fabrica etiam deciorum prohibetur, p. 74, col. 1.

Et avec ce nous deffendons étroitement que nul ne joüe aux dez, aux tables, ne aux échets, & si deffendons escoles de dez, & voulons du-tout estre devéyés, & ceux qui les tendront soient tres bien punis. Et si soit la forge, ou l'euvre de dez deveyé par tout. *Ibid.* col. 2.

[6] Voyez la page 184, du *Traité des Jeux & des Divertisements qui peuvent être permis, ou qui doivent être défendus aux Chrétiens, selon les Regles de l'Eglisse & le sentiment des Peres.* Par M. Jean-Baptiste Thiers, Docteur en Théologie, & Curé de Chamrond. A Paris, chez Ant. Dezallier, 1686, *in*-12.

Fin de l'Ouvrage de M. l'Abbé Rive.

N° II.

EXTRAIT DE L'ESSAI SUR L'ORIGINE DE LA GRAVURE PAR JANSEN. TOME I. P. 99. PARIS 1808. 8VO.

GRACES a M. Van Praet, conservateur des livres de la Bibliotheque Imperiale a Paris, si estimable par ses grandes connoissances litteraires et bibliographiques, et par son extrême obligeance a les communiquer, nous pouvons du moins faire remonter l'usage des cartes a jouer en France jusqu'en 1341. Voici ce qu'on trouve au folio 95 d'un manuscrit de M. Lancelot, intitulé *Renart le contrefait*, qu'il a bien voulu nous indiquer:

Si comme fols et folles sont
Qui pour gargner au bordel vont;
Jouent aux dez, aux *Cartes*, aux tables
Qui à Dieu ne sont delectables. *fol.* 95.

Ce Roman de *Renart le contrefait*, qui est en vers, a été composée par un anonyme, qui paroit être de Champagne. Il nous apprend', au folio 83, le temps ou il l'a ecrit.

Celui qui ce Roman ecript
Et qui le fist sans faire faire,
Et sans prendre autre exemplaire,
Tant y pensa et jour et nuict
En l'an mil iij cent xxviij.
En analant y mist sa cure
Et continua l'escripture
Plus de xxiij ans y mist au faire
Aincoit qui il le pense parfaire,
Bien poet veoir la maniere.

Ce Passage fixe l'entiere confection de ce Roman en 1341 l'auteur y rapporte des faits anterieurs à cette date; il parle de Philippe de Valois comme vivant encore.

N° III.

Extrait du Monde Primitif Analyse et comparé avec le Monde Moderne par M. Court de Gebelin. Dissertations Melée. Tome I. *P.* 363.

DU JEU DES TAROTS.

OU L'ON TRAITE DE SON ORIGINE, OU ON EXPLIQUE SES ALLEGORIES, ET OU L'ON FAIT VOIR QU'IL EST LA SOURCE DE NOS CARTES MODERNES A JOUER, &c. &c.

1.

Surprise que causeroit la découverte d'un Livre Egyptien.

Si l'on entendoit annoncer qu'il existe encore de nos jours un ouvrage des anciens Egyptiens, un de leurs livres échappé aux flammes qui dévorèrent leurs superbes bibliothèques, & qui contient leur doctrine la plus pure sur des objets intéressans, chacun seroit, sans doute, empressé de connoître un livre aussi précieux, aussi extraordinaire. Si on ajoûtoit que ce livre est très-répandu dans une grande partie de l'Europe, que depuis nombre de siècles il y est entre les mains de tout le monde, la surprise iroit certainement en croissant: ne seroit-elle pas à son comble, si l'on assuroit qu'on n'a jamais soupçonné qu'il fût Egyptien, qu'on le possède comme ne le possédant point, que personne n'a jamais cherché à en déchiffrer une feuille: que le fruit d'une sagesse exquise est regardé comme un amas de figures extravagantes qui ne signifient rien par elles-mêmes? Ne croiroit-on pas qu'on veut s'amuser, se jouer de la crédulité de ses auditeurs?

2.

Ce Livre Egyptien existe.

Le fait est cependant très-vrai: ce livre Egyptien, seul rest de leurs superbes bibliothèques, existe de nos jours: il est même si commun, qu'aucun savant n'a daigné s'en occuper; personne avant nous n'ayant jamais soupçonné son illustre origine. Ce livre est composé de LXXVII feuillets ou tableaux, même de LXXVIII, divisés en V classes, qui offrent chacune des objets aussi variés qu'amusans & instructifs: ce livre est en un mot le Jeu des Tarots, jeu inconnu, il est vrai, à Paris, mais très-connu en Italie, en Allemagne, même en Provence, & aussi bisarre par les figures qu'offre chacune de ses cartes, que par leur multitude.

Quelqu'étendues que soient le contrées où il est en usage, on n'en étoit pas plus

avancé sur la valeur des figures bisarres qu'il paroît offrir: & telle est son antique origine qu'elle se perdoit dans l'obscurité des tems, qu'on ne savoit ni où ni quand il avoit été inventé, ni le motif qui y avoit rassemblé tant de figures extraordinaires, si peu faites ce semble pour marcher de pair, telles qu'il n'offre dans tout son ensemble qu'une énigme que personne n'avoit jamais cherché à résoudre.

Ceu jeu a même paru si peu digne d'attention, qu'il n'est jamais entré en ligne de compte dans les vues de ceux de nos savans qui se sont occupés de l'origine des cartes: ils n'ont jamais parlé que des cartes Françoises, ou en usage à Paris, dont l'origine est peu ancienne; & après en avoir prouvé l'invention moderne, ils ont cru avoir épuisé la matiere. C'est qu'en effet on confond sans cesse l'établissement d'une connoissance quelconque dans un pays avec son invention primitive: c'est ce que nous avons déjà fait voir à l'égard de la boussole: les Grecs & les Romains eux-mêmes n'ont que trop confondu ces objets, ce qui nous a privé d'une multitude d'origines intéressantes.

Mais la forme, la disposition, l'arrangement de ce jeu & les figures qu'il offre sont si manifestement allégoriques, & ces allégories sont si conformes à la doctrine civile, philosophique & religieuse des anciens Egyptiens, qu'on ne peut s'empêcher de la reconnoître pour l'ouvrage de ce peuple de sages: qu'eux seuls purent en être les inventeurs, rivaux à cet égard des Indiens qui inventoient le jeu des Echecs.

DIVISION.

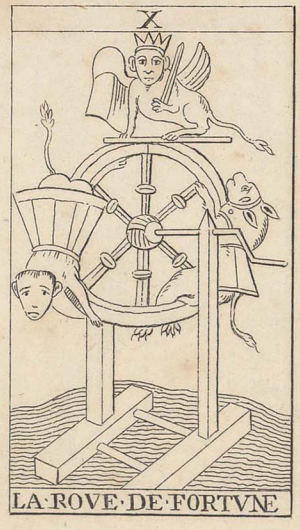
Nous ferons voir les allégories qu'offrent les diverses cartes de ce jeu,
Les formules numériques d'après lesquelles il a été composé.
Comment il s'est transmis jusques à nous.
Ses rapports avec un monument Chinois.
Comment en naquirent les cartes Espagnoles.
Et les rapports de ces dernieres avec les cartes Françoises.

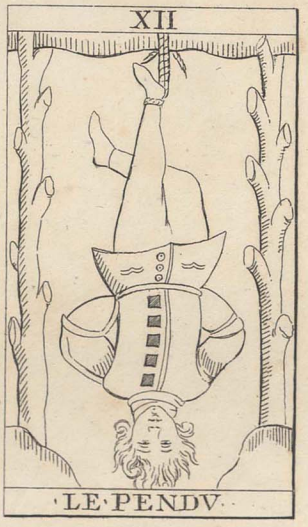
Cet Essai sera suivi d'une dissertation où l'on établit comment ce jeu étoit appliqué à l'art de la divination: c'est l'ouvrage d'un officier général, gouverneur de province, qui nous honore de sa bienveillance, & qui a retrouvé dans ce jeu avec une sagacité très-ingénieuse les principes Egyptiens sur l'art de deviner par les cartes, principes qui distinguèrent les premiers bandes des Egyptiens mal nommés Bohémiens qui se répandirent dans l'Europe, & dont il subsiste encore quelques vestiges dans nos jeux de cartes, mais qui y prêtent infiniment moins par leur monotonie & par le petit nombre de leurs figures.

Le jeu Egyptien, au contraire, étoit admirable pour cet effet, renfermant en quelque façon l'Univers entier, & les etats divers dont la vie de l'homme est susceptible. Tel étoit ce peuple unique & profond, qu'il imprimoit au moindre de ses ouvrages le sceau de l'immortalité, & que les autres semblent en quelque sorte se traîner à peine sur ses traces.

Swaine Sc.

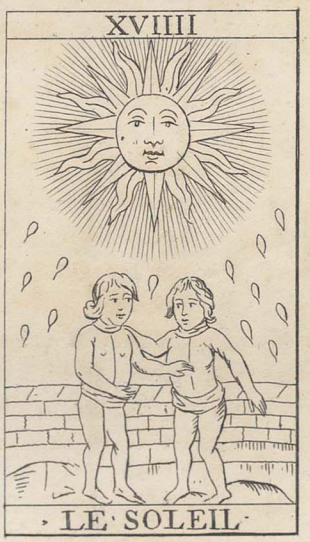
Tarocchi Cards. pl. 1.

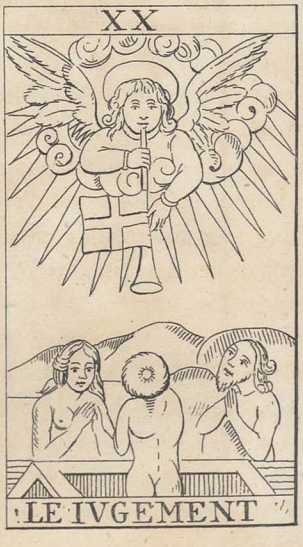




Swayne Sc.

Tarocchi Cards. pl. 2.





Swaine sc.

Tarocchi Cards. pl. 3.

ARTICLE I.

Allegories qu'offrent les Cartes de Jeu des Tarots.

Si ce jeu qui a toujours été muet pour tous ceux qui le connoissent, s'est développé à nos yeux, ce n'a point été l'effet de quelques profondes méditations, ni de l'envie de débrouiller son cahos: nous n'y pensions pas l'instant avant. Invité il y a quelques années à aller voir une dame de nos amies, Madame la C. de H. qui arrivoit d'Allemagne ou de Suisse, nous la trovâmes occupée à jouer à ce jeu avec quelques autres personnes. Nous jouons à un jeu que vous ne connoissez sûrement pas.—Cela se peut; quel est-il?—Le jeu des Tarots—J'ai eu occasion de le voir étant fort jeune, mais je n'en ai aucune idée—C'est une rapsodie des figures les plus bisarres, le plus extravagantes: en voilà une, par exemple; on eut soin de choisir la plus chargée de figures, & n'ayans aucun rapport à son nom, c'est le monde: j'y jette les yeux, & aussi-tôt j'en reconnoit l'Allégorie: chacun de quitter son jeu & de venir voir cette carte marveilleuse où j'appercevois ce qu'ils n'avoient jamais vû: chacun de m'en montrer une autre: et un quart-d'heure le jeu fut parcouru, expliqué, déclaré Egyptien: & comme ce n'étoit point le jeu de notre imagination, mais l'effet des rapports choisis & sensibles de ce jeu avec tout ce qu'on connoît d'idées Egyptiennes, nous nous promîmes bien d'en faire part quelque jour au public; persuadés qu'il auroit pour agréable une découverte & un présent de cette nature, un livre Egyptien échappe à la barbarie, aux ravages du tems, aux incendies accidentelles & aux volontaires, à l'ignorance plus désastreuse encore.

Effet nécessaire de la forme frivole & légere de ce livre, qui l'a mis à même de triompher de tous les âges & et de passer jusques à nous avec une fidélité rare: l'ignorance même dans laquelle on a été jusques ici de qu'il représentoit, a été un heureux sauf-conduit, qui lui a laissé traverser tranquillement tous les siècles sans qu'on ait pensé à le faire disparoître.

Il étoit tems de retrouver les allégories qu'il étoit destiné à conserver, & de faire voir que chez le peuple le plus sage, tout jusqu'aux jeux, étoit fondé sur l'allégorie, & que ces sages savoient changer en amusement les connoissances les plus utiles & n'en faire qu'un jeu.

Nous l'avons dit, le jeu des Tarots est composé de LXXVII cartes, même d'une LXXVIIIe, divisées en atous & en IV couleurs. Afin que nos lecteurs puissent nous suivre, nous avons fait graver les atous; & l'as de chaque couleur, ce que nous appellons avec les Espagnols, spadille, baste, & ponte.

ATOUS.

Les Atous au nombre de XXII, représentent en général les chefs temporels & spirituels de la société, les chefs physiques de l'agriculture, les vertus cardinales, le mariage, la mort & la résurrection ou la création; les divers jeux de la fortune, le sage & le fou, le tems qui consume tout, &c. On comprend ainsi d'avance que toutes ces

Cartes sont autant de tableaux allégoriques relatifs à l'ensemble de la vie, & susceptibles d'une infinité de combinaisons. Nous allons les examiner un à un, & tâcher de déchiffrer l'allégorie ou l'enigme particuliere que chacun d'eux renferme.

LE FOU.

On ne peut méconnoître le FOU dans cette carte, à sa marotte, & à son hoqueton garni de coquillages & de sonnettes : il marche très-vîte comme un fou qu'il est, portant derriere lui son petit paquet, & s'imaginant échapper par-là à un tigre qui lui mord la croupe : quant au sac, il est l'emblême de ses fautes qu'il ne voudroit pas voir ; & ce tigre, celui de ses remords qui le suivent galopant, & qui sautent en croupe derriere lui.

Cette belle idée qu'Horace a si bien encadrée dans de l'or, n'étoit donc pas de lui, elle n'avoit pas échappé aux Egyptiens : c'étoit une idée vulgaire, un lieu commun ; mais prise dans la Nature toujours vraie, & présentée avec toutes les graces dont ille est susceptible, cet agréable & sage poëte sembloit l'avoir tirée de son profond jugement.

Quant à cet Atous, nous l'appellons ZERO, quoiqu'on le place dans le jeu après le XXI, parce qu'il ne compte point quand il est seul, & qu'il n'a de valeur que celle qu'il donne aux autres, précisément comme notre zero : montrant ainsi que rien n'existe sans sa folie.

N° I.—*Le Joueur de Gobelets, ou Bateleur.*

Nous commençons par le n° 1. pour suivre jusques au 21, parce que l'usage actuel est de commencer par le moindre nombre pour s'élever de-là aux plus hauts : il paroît cependant que les Egyptiens commençoient à compter par le plus haut pour descendre de-là jusqu'au plus bas. C'est ainsi qu'ils solsifioient l'octave en descendant, & non en montant comme nous. Dans la dissertation qui est à la suite de celle-ci, on suit l'usage des Egyptiens, & on en tire le plus grand parti. On aura donc ici les deux manieres : la nôtre la plus commode quand on ne veut considérer ces cartes qu'en elles-mêmes : & celle-là, utile pour en mieux concevoir l'ensemble & les rapports.

Le premier de tous les atous en remontant, ou le dernier en descendant, est un JOUEUR de GOBELET ; on le reconnoît à sa table couverte de dés, de gobelets, de couteaux, de bales, &c. A son bâton de jacob ou verge des Mages, à la bale qu'il tient entre deux doigts & qu'il va escamoter.

On l'appelle BATELEUR dans la dénomination des cartiers : c'est le nom vulgaire des personnes de cet état : est-il nécessaire de dire qu'il vient de *baste*, bâton ?

A la tête de tous les etats, il indique que la vie entiere n'est qu'un songe, qu'un escamotage : qu'elle est comme un jeu perpétuel du hasard ou du choc de mille circonstances qui ne dépendirent jamais de nous, & sur lequel influe nécessairement pour beaucoup toute administration générale.

Mais entre le fou & le bateleur, l'homme n'est-il pas bien ?

N° II. III. IV. V.—*Chefs de la Société.*

Les numéros II & III représentent deux femmes: les numéros IV & V, leurs maris: ce sont les chefs temporels & spirituels de la société.

Roi & Reine.

Le N° IV. represent le ROI, & le III. la REINE. Ils ont tous les deux pour attributs l'aigle dans un ecusson, & le sceptre surmonté d'un globe thautifié ou couronné d'une croix, appellée THAU, le signe par excellence.

Le roi est vu de profil, la reine de face: ils sont tous les deux assis sur un trône. La reine est en robe traînante, le dossier de son trône est éléve: le roi est comme dans une gondole ou chaise en coquille, les jambes croisées. Sa couronne est en demi-cercle surmontée d'une perle à croix. Celle de la reine se termine en pointe. Le roi porte un ordre de chevalerie.

Grand-Prêtre & Grand-Prêtresse.

Le N° V. représente le CHEF des hiérophantes ou le GRAND-PRETRE: le N° II. la GRANDE-PRETRESSE ou sa femme: on sait que chez les Egyptiens, les chefs du Sacerdoce étoient mariés. Si ces cartes étoient de l'invention des modernes, on n'y verroit point de grande-prêtresse, bien moins encore sous le nom de PAPESSE, comme les cartiers Allemands ont nommé celle-ci ridiculement.

La grande-prêtresse est assise dans un fauteuil: elle est en habit long avec une espèce de voile derriere la tête qui vient croiser sur l'estomac: elle a une double couronne avec deux cornes comme en avoit Isis: elle tient un livre ouvert sur ses genoux; deux écharpes garnies de croix se croisent sur sa poitrine & y forment un X.

Le grand-prêtre est en habit long avec un grande manteau qui tient à une agraffe: il porte la triple thiare: d'une main, il s'appuie sur un sceptre à triple croix: & de l'autre, il donne de deux doigts étendus la bénédiction à deux personnages qu'on voit à ses genoux.

Les cartiers Italiens ou Allemands qui ont ramené ce jeu à leurs connoissances, ont fait de ces deux personnages auxquels les anciens donnoient le nom de PERE & de MERE, comme on diroit ABBE & ABBESSE, mots Orientaux significans la même chose, ils en ont fait, dis-je, un Pape & une Papesse.

Quant au sceptre à triple croix, c'est un monument absolument Egyptien: on le voit sur la table d'Isis, sous la lettre TT; monument précieux que nous avons déjà fair graver dans toute son étendue pour le donner quelque jour au public. Elle a rapport au triple phallus qu'on promenoit dans la fameuse Fête des Pamylies où l'on se réjouissoit d'avoir retrové Osiris, & où il étoit le symbole de la régénération des plantes & de la Nature entiere.

N° VII.—*Osiris Triomphant.*

OSIRIS s'avance ensuite: il paroît sous la forme d'un roi triomphant, le sceptre en main, la couronne sur la tête: il est dans son char de guerrier, tiré par deux chevaux

blancs. Personne n'ignore qu'Osiris étoit la grande divinité suprême invisible, mais qui se manifeste dans ce chef-d'œuvre de la Nature. Il avoit été perdu pendant l'hyver: il reparoît au printems avec un nouvel éclat, ayant triomphé de tout ce qui lui fasoit la guerre.

N° VI.—*Le Marriage.*

Un jeune homme & une jeune femme se donent leur foi mutuelle: un prêtre les bénit, l'amour les perce de ses traits. Les cartiers appellent ce tableaux, l'Amoureux. Ils ont bien l'air d'avoir ajouté eux-mêmes cet amour avec son arc & ses flèches, pour rendre ce tableau plus parlant à leurs yeux.

On voit dans les antiquités de Boissard,[1] un monument de la méme nature, pour peindre l'union conjugale; mais il n'est composé que de trois figures.

L'amant & l'amante qui se donnent leur foi: l'amour entre deux sert de témoin & de prêtre.

Ce tableau est intitulé Fidei Simulacrum, tableaux de la foi conjugale: les personnages en sont désignés par ces beaux noms, Verite, Honneur & Amour. Il est inutile de dire que la vérité désigne ici la femme plutôt que l'homme, non-seulement parce que ce mot est du genre féminin, mais parce que la *Fidelité constante* est plus essentielle dans la femme. Ce monument précieux fut élevé par un nommé T. Fundanius Eromenus ou l'*amiable,* à sa très-chere epouse *Poppée Demetrie,* & à leur fille chérie *Manilia Eromenis.*

N° VIII. XI. XII. XIII.—*Les quatre Vertus Cardinales.*

Les figures sur les numeros que nous avons ici réunies, sont relatives aux quatre vertus cardinales.

N° XI. Celle-ci représente la Force. C'est une femme qui s'est rendue maitresse d'un lion, & qui lui ouvre la gueule avec la même facilité qu'elle ouvriroit celle de son petit épagneul; elle a sur la tête un chapeaux de bergere.

N° XIII. La Temperance. C'est une femme aîlée qui fait passer de l'eau d'un vase dans un autre, pour tempérer la liqueur qu'il renferme.

N° VIII. La Justice. C'est une reine, c'est Astree assise sur son trône, tenant d'une main un poignard; de l'autre, une balance.

N° XII. La Prudence est du nombre des quatre cardinales: les Egyptiens purent-ils l'oublier dans cette peintre de la vie humaine? cependant, on ne la trouve pas dans ce Jeu. On voit à sa place sous le N° XII. entre la force & la tempérance, un homme pendu par les pieds: mais que fait-là ce pendu? c'est l'ouvrage d'un malheureux Cartier présomptueux qui ne comprenant pas la beauté de l'allégorie renfermée sous ce tableau, a pris sur lui de le corriger, & par-là même de le défigurer entierement.

[1] T. III. Pl. xxxvi.

La prudence ne pouvoit être représentée d'une maniere sensible aux yeux que par un homme debout, qui ayant un pied posé, avance l'autre, & le tient suspendu examinant le lieu où il pourra le placer surement. Le titre de cette carte étoit donc l'homme au pied suspendu, *pede suspensu:* le cartier ne sachant ce que cela vouloit dire, en a fait un homme pendu par la pieds.

Puis on a demandé, pourquoi un pendu dans ce jeu? & on n'a pas manqué de dire, c'est la juste punition de l'inventeur du jeu, pour y avoir réprésenté un papesse.

Mais placé entre la force, la tempérance & la justice, qui ne voit que c'est la prudence qu'on voulut & qu'on dut représenter primitivement?

N° VIII. ou IX.—*Le Sage ou le Chercheur de la Vérité & du Juste.*

Le N° IX. représent un philosophe vénérable en manteau long, un capuchon sur les épaules: il marche courbé sur son bâton, & tenant une lanterne de la main gauche. C'est le sage qui cherche la justice & la vertu.

On a donc imaginé d'après cette peinture Egyptienne, l'histoire de Diogène qui la lanterne en main cherche un homme en plein midi. Les bons mots, sur-tout les epigrammatiques, sont de tout siècle: & Diogène étoit homme à mettre ce tableau en action.

Les cartiers ont fait de ce sage un hermite. C'est assez bien vu: les philosophes vivent volontiers en retraite, ou ne sont guères propres à la frivolité du siècle. Heraclide passoit pour fou aux yeux de ses chers concitoyens: dans l'orient, d'ailleurs, se livrer aux Sciences spéculatives ou *s'Hermetiser*, est presque une seule & même chose. Les hermites Egyptiens n'eurent rien à reprocher à cet égard à ceux des Indes, & aux Talapoins de Siam: ils étoient ou sont tous autant de Druides.

N° XIX.—*Le Soleil.*

Nous avons réuni sous cette planche tous les tableaux relatifs à la lumiere: ainsi après la lanterne sourde de l'hermite, nous allons passer en revue le soleil, la lune & le brillant sirius ou la canicule étincelante, tous figurans dans ce jeu, avec divers emblêmes.

Le Soleil est représenté ici comme le pere physique des humains & de la Nature entiere: il éclaire hommes en société, il préside à leurs villes: de ses rayons distillent des larmes d'or & de perles: ainsi on désignoit les heureuses influences de cet astre.

Ce jeu des Tarots est ici parfaitement conforme à la doctrine des Egyptiens, comme nous l'allons voir plus en détail à l'article suivant.

N° XVIII.—*La Lune.*

Ainsi la Lune qui marche à la suite du soleil est aussi accompagnée de larmes d'or & de perles, pour marquer également qu'elle contribue pour sa part aux avantages de la terre.

PAUSANIAS nous apprend dans la description de la Phocide, que, selon les Egyptiens, c'étoient les LARMES d'ISIS qui enfloient chaque année les eaux du Nil & qui rendoient ainsi fertiles les compagnes d'Egypte. Les relations de ce pays parlent aussi d'une GOUTTE ou larme, qui tombe de la lune au moment où les eaux du Nil doivent grossir.

Au bas de ce tableau, on voit une crevisse ou Cancer, soit pour marquer la marche rétrograde de la lune, soit pour indiquer que c'est au moment où le soliel & la lune sortent du signe de Cancer qu'arrive l'inondation causée par leurs larmes au lever de la canicule qu'on voit dans le tableau suivant.

On pourroit même réunir les deux motifs : n'est-il pas très ordinaire de se déterminer par une foule de conséquences qui forment une masse qu'on seroit souvent bien embarrassé à démêler?

Le milieu du tableau est occupé par deux tours, une à chaque extrémité pour désigner les deux fameuses colonnes d'Hercule, en-deça & au-delâ desquelles ne passerent jamais ces deux grands luminaires.

Entre les deux colonnes sont deux chiens qui semblent aboyer contre la lune & la garder: idées parfaitment Egyptiennes. Ce peuple unique pour les allégories, comparoit les tropiques à deux palais gardés chacun par un chien, qui, semblables à des portiers fideles, retenoient ces astres dans le milieux des cieux sans permettre qu'ils se glissassent vers l'un ou l'autre pôle.

Ce ne sont point visions de commentateurs en US. CLEMENT, lui-même Egyptien, puisqu'il étoit d'Alexandrie, & qui par conséquent devoit en savoir quelque chose, nous assure dans ses Tapisseries [1] que les Egyptiens représentoient les TROPIQUES sous la figure de deux CHIENS, qui, semblables à des portiers ou à des gardiens fideles, empêchoient le soleil & la lune de pénétrer plus loin, & d'aller jusqu'aux pôles.

N° XVII.—*La Canicule.*

Ici nous avons sous les yeux un tableau non moins allégorique, et absolument Egyptien ; il est intitulé l'ETOILE. On y voit, en effet, une etoile brillant, autour de laquelle sont sept autres plus petites. Le bas du tableau est occupé par une femme panchée sur un genou qui tient deux vases renversés dont coulent deux fleuves. A côté de cette femme est un papillon sur une fleur.

C'est l'Egyptianisme tout pur.

Cette etoile, par excellence, est la CANICULE ou SIRIUS : etoile qui si leve lorsque le soleil sort du signe du Cancer, par lequel se termine le tableau précédent, & que cette Etoile suit ici immédiatement.

Les sept etoiles qui l'environnent, & qui semblent lui faire leur cour, sont les planettes : elle est en quelque sorte leur reine, puisqu'elle fixe dans cet instant le commencement de l'année ; elles semblent venir recevoir ses ordres pour régler leurs cours sur elle.

La Dame qui est au-dessous, & fort attentive dans ce moment à répandre l'eau de

[1] Ou Stromates, Lib. V.

ses vases, est la souveraine des cieux, ISIS, à la bienfaisance de laquelle ou attribuoit les inondations du Nil, qui commencent au lever de la Canicule; ainsi ce lever étoit l'annonce de l'inondation. C'est pour cette raison que la Canicule étoit consacrée à Isis, qu'elle étoit son symbole par excellence.

Et comme l'année s'ouvroit également par le lever de cet astre, on l'appelloit SOTH-IS, ouverture de l'année; & c'est sous ce nom qu'il étoit consacré à Isis.

Enfin, la fleur, et le PAPILLON qu'elle supporte, étoient l'emblême de la régénération & de la résurrection : ils indiquoient en même tems qu'à la faveur des bienfaits d'Isis, au lever de la Canicule, les Campagnes de l'Egypte, qui étoient absolument nues, se couvriroient de nouvelles moissons.

N° XIII.—*La Mort.*

Le N° XIII. représent la mort: elle fauche les humains, les rois & les reines, les grands & les petits ; rien ne résiste à sa faulx meurtriere.

Il n'est pas étonnant qu'elle soit placée sous ce numéro; les nombre treize fut toujours regardé comme malheureux. Il faut que très-anciennement il soit arrivé quelque grand malheur dans un pareil jour, & que le souvenir en ait influé sur toutes les anciennes nations. Seroit-ce par une suite de ce souvenir que les treize tribus des Hébreux n'ont jamais été comptées que pour douze?

Ajoutons qu'il n'est pas étonnant non plus que les Egyptiens ayent inséré la mort dans un jeu qui ne devroit réveiller que des idées agréables: ce jeu étoit un jeu de guerre, la mort devoit donc y entrer: c'est ainsi que le jeu des échecs finit par *échec mat*, pour mieux dire par *Sha mat*, la mort du roi. D'ailleurs, nous avons eu occasion de rapeller dans le calendrier, que dans les festins, ce peuple sage & réfléchi faisoit paroître un squellette sous le nom de *Maneros*, sans doute afin d'engager les convives à ne pas se tuer par gourmandise. Chacun a sa maniere de voir, & il ne faut jamais disputer des goûts.

N° XV.—*Typhon.*

Le N° XV. représente un célebre personnage Egyptien, TYPHON, frere d'Osiris & d'Isis, le mauvais principe, le grand démon d'Enfer: il a des ailes de chauve-souris, des pieds & des mains d'harpie; à la tête de vilaines cornes de cerf: on l'a fait aussi laid, aussi diable qu'on a pu. A ses pieds sont deux petits diablotins à longues oreilles, à grande queue, les mains liées derriere le dos: ils sont eux-mêmes attachés par une corde qui leur passe au cou, & qui est arrêtée au piédestal de Typhon: c'est qu'il ne lâche pas ceux qui sont à lui ; il aime bien ceux qui sont siens.

N° XVI.—*Maison Dieu, ou Château de Plutus.*

Pour le coup, nous avons ici une leçon contre l'avarice. Ce tableau représente une tour, qu'on appelle MAISON-DIEU, c'est-à-dire, la maison par excellence; c'est une

tour remplie d'or; c'est le château de Plutus: il tombe en ruines, & ses adorateurs tombent écrasés sous ses débris.

A cet ensemble, peut-on méconnoître l'histoire de ce prince Egyptien dont parle HERODOTE, qu'il appelle RHAMPSINIT, qui ayant fait construire une grande tour de pierre pour renfermer ses trésors, & dont lui seul avoit la clef, s'appercevoit cependant qu'ils diminuoient â vue d'œil, sans qu'on passât en aucune maniere par la seule porte qui existât à cet édifice. Pour découvrir des voleurs assi adroits, ce prince s'avisa de tendre des piéges autour des vases qui contenoient se richesses. Les voleurs étoient les deux fils de l'architecte dont s'étoit servi Rhampsinit: il avoit menagé une pierre de telle maniere, qu'elle pouvoit s'ôter & se remettre à volonté sans qu'on s'en apperçût. Il enseigna son secret à ses enfans qui s'en servirent merveilleusement comme on voit. Ils voloient le prince, & puis ils se jettoient de la tour en bas: c'est ainsi qu'ils sont représentés ici. C'est à la vérité le plus beau de l'histoire; on trouvera dans Hérodote le reste de ce conte ingénieux: comment un des deux freres fut pris dans les filets: comment il engagea son frere à lui couper la tête; comment leur mere voulut absolument que celui-ci rapportât le corps de son frere: comment il alla avec des outres chargés sur un âne pour enivrer les gardes du cadavre & du palais: comment, après qu'ils eurent vuidè ses outres malgré ses larmes artificieuses, & qu'ils se furent endormis, il leur coupa à tous la barbe du côté droit, & leur enleva le corps de son frere: comment le roi fort étonné, engagea sa fille à se faire raconter par chacun de ses amans le plus joli tour qu'ils eussent fait: comment ce jeune éveillé alla auprés de la belle, lui raconta tout ce qu'il avoit fait: comment la belle ayant voulu l'arrêter, elle ne se trouva avoir saisi qu'un bras postiche: comment, pour achever cette grande aventure, & la mener à une heureuse fin, ce roi promit cette même sienne fille au jeune homme ingénieux qui l'avoit si bien joué, comme à la personne la plus digne d'elle; ce qui s'exécuta à la grande satisfaction de tous.

Je ne sais si Hérodote prit ce conte pour une histoire réelle; mais un peuple capable d'inventer de pareilles romances ou fables milésiennes, pouvoit fort bien inventer un jeu quelconque.

Cet ecrivain rapporte un autre fait qui prouve ce que nous avons dit dans l'histoire du calendrier, que les statues des Géans qu'on promene dans diverses fêtes, désignerent presque toujours les saisons. Il dit que Rhampsinit le même prince dont nous venons de parler, fit élever au nord et au midi du temple de Vulcain deux statues de vingt-cinq coudées de haut, qu'on appelloit l'*Eté* et l'*Hiver:* on adoroit, ajoute-t-il, celle-là, et on sacrifioit, au contraire, à celle-ci; c'est donc comme les sauvages qui reconnoissent le bon principe et l'aiment, mais qui ne sacrifient qu'au mauvais.

N° X.—*La Roue de Fortune.*

Le numero X. est la Roue de Fortune. Ici des personnages humains, sous la forme de singes, de chiens, de lapins, &c. s'élevent tour-a-tour sur cette roue à laquelle ils sont attachés: on diroit que c'est une satyre contre la fortune, & contre céux qu'elle éleve rapidement & qu'elle laisse retomber avec la même rapidité.

N° XX.—*Tableau mal nommé le Judgement Dernier.*

Ce tableau représente un ange sonnant de la trompette: on voit aussitôt comme sortir de terre un vieillard, une femme, un enfant nuds.

Les cartiers qui avoient perdu la valeur de ces tableaux, & plus encore leur ensemble, ont vu ici le judgement dernier; & pour le rendre plus sensible, ils y ont mis comme des espèces de tombeaux. Otez ces tombeaux, ce tableau sert également à désigner la CREATION, arrivée dans le tems, au commencement du tems, qu'indique le N° XXI.

N° XXI.—*Le Tems, mal nommé le Monde.*

Ce tableau, que les cartiers ont appellé le monde, parce qu'ils l'ont considéré comme l'origine de tout, représente le TEMS. On ne peut le méconnoître à son ensemble.

Dans le centre est la déesse du tems, avec son voile qui voltige, & qui lui sert de ceinture ou de *Peplum*, comme l'appelloient les anciens. Elle est dans l'attitude de courir, comme le tems, et dans un cercle qui représente les revolutions du tems, ainsi qui l'œuf d'où tout est sorti dans le temps.

Aux quatre coins du Tableau sont les emblêmes des quatre Saisons, qui forment les révolutions de l'année, les mêmes qui composoiént les quatre têtes des Chérubins. Ces emblêmes sont.

L'aigle, le lion, le bœuf, & le jeune-homme.

L'aigle représente le printems, où reparoissent les oiseaux.

Le lion, l'eté ou les ardeurs du soleil.

Le bœuf, l'automne où on laboure et où on seme.

Le jeune-homme, l'hiver où l'on se réunit en société.

ARTICLE II.

Les Couleurs.

Outre les Atous, ce jeu est composé de quatre couleurs distinguées par leurs emblêmes; on les appelle EPEE, COUPE, BATON et DENIER.

On peut voir les quatre couleurs dans la planche des cartes Italiens.

Chacune de ces couleurs est composée de quatorze cartes, c'est-à-dire de dix cartes numérotées depuis I jusqu'à X, & de quatre cartes figurées, qu'on appelle le roi, la reine, le chevalier ou cavalier, et son ecuyer on valet.

Ces quatre couleurs sont relatives aux quatre etats entre lesquels étoient divisés les Egyptiens.

L'epée désignoit le souverain et la noblesse toute militaire.

La coupe, le clergé ou la sacerdoce.

Le baton, ou massue d'hercule, l'agriculture.
Le denier, le commerce dont l'argent est le signe.

Ce Jeu fondé sur le nombre septenaire.

Ce jeu est absolument fondé sur le nombre sacré de sept. Chaque couleur est de deux fois sept cartes. Les atous sont au nombre de trois fois sept; le nombre des cartes de soixante-dix-sept; le fou étant comme O. Or, personne n'ignore le rôle que ce nombre jouoit chez les Egyptiens, et qu'il étoit devenu chez eux une formule à laquelle ils ramenoient les elémens de toutes les sciences.

L'idée sinistre attaché dans ce jeu au nombre treize, ramene également fort bien à la même origine.

Ce jeu ne peut donc avoir été inventé que par des Egyptiens, puisqu'il a pour base le nombre sept; qu'il est relatif à la division des habitans de l'Egypte en quatre classes; que la plupart de ses atous se rapportent absolument à l'Egypte, tels que les deux chefs des Hiérophantes, homme et femme, Isis ou la Canicule, Typhon, Osiris, la maison Dieu, le monde, les chiens qui designent le tropique, &c. et que ce jeu, entiérement allégorique, ne put être l'ouvrage que des seuls Egyptiens.

Inventé par un homme de génie, avant ou après le jeu des Echecs, & réunissant l'utilité au plaisir, il est parvenu jusqu'à nous à travers tous le siècles: il a survécu à la ruine entiere de l'Egypte & des connoissances qui la distinguoient; & tandis qu'on n'avoit nulle idée de la sagesse des leçons qu'il renfermoit, on ne lassoit pas de s'amuser du jeu qu'elle avoit inventé.

Il est d'ailleurs aisé de tracer la route qu'il a tenue pour arriver dans nos contrées. Dans les premiers siécles de l'eglise, les Egyptiens étoient très-rèpandus à Rome: il y avoient porté leurs cérémonies & le culte d'Isis; par conséquent le jeu dont il s'agit.

Ce jeu, intéressant par lui-même, fut borné à l'Italie jusqu'à ce que les liaisons des Allemands avec les Italiens le firent connoître de cette secònde nation; & jusqu'à ce que celles des comtes de Provence avec l'Italie, et sur-tout le séjour de la cour de Rome à Avignon, la naturalisa en Provence & à Avignon.

S'il ne vint pas jusqu'à Paris, il faut l'attribuer à la bisarrerie de ses figures et au volume de des cartes qui n'étoient point de nature à plaire à la vivacité des dames Françoises. Aussi fut-on obligé, comme nous le verrons bientôt, de réduire excessivement ce jeu en leur faveur.

Cependent l'Egypte, elle-meme ne jouit point du fruit de son invention: réduits à la servitude la plus déplorable, à l'ignorance la plus profonde, privés de tous les arts, ses habitans seroient hors d'état de fabriquer vue seule carte de se jeu.

Si nos cartes Françoises, infiniment moins compliquées, exigent le travail soutenu d'une multitude de mains & le concours de plusieurs arts, comment ce peuple infortuné auroit-il pu conserver les siennes? Tels sont les maux qui fondent sur une nation asservie, qu'elle perd jusques aux objets de ses amusemens: n'ayant pu conserver ses advantages les plus précieux, de quel droit prétendroit-elle à ce qui n'en étoit qu'un délassement agréable?

Noms Orientaux conservés dans ce Jeu.

Ce jeu a conservé quelques noms qui le dêclareroient également jeu oriental si on ne'en avoit pas d'autres preuves.

Ces noms sont ceux de TARO, de MAT et de PAGAD.

1. TAROTS.

Le nom de ce jeu est pur Egyptien: il est composé du mot TAR, qui signifie voie, chemin; et du mot RO, ROS, ROG, qui signifie roi, royal. C'est, mot-à-mot, le chemin royal de la vie.

Il se rapporte en effet à la vie entiere des citoyens, puisqu'il est formé des divers Etats entre lesquels ils sont divisés, & que ce jeu les suit depuis leur naissance jusqu'-à la mort, en leur montrant toutes les vertus & tous les guides physiques & moraux ils doivent s'attacher, tels que le roi, la reine, les chefs de la religion, le soleil, la lune, &c.

Il leur apprend un même tems par le joueur de gobelets et par la roue de fortune, que rien n'est plus inconstant dans ce monde que les divers etats de l'homme: que son seul réfuge est dans la vertu, qui ne lui manque jamais au besoin.

2. MAT.

Le MAT, nom vulgaire du Fou, et qui subsiste en Italien, vient de l'oriental *Mat*, assommé, meurtri, félé. Les foux ont toujours été représentés comme ayant le cerveau félé.

3. PAGAD.

Le joueur de gobelets est appellé PAGAD dans le courant du jeu. Ce nom qui ne ressemble à rien dans nos langues occidentales, est oriental pur & très-bien choisi: PAG signifie en orient, chef, maître, seigneur: et GAD, la fortune. En effet, il est représenté comme disposant du sort avec sa baguette de Jacob ou sa verge des mages.

Application de ce Jeu à la Divination.

Pour terminer ces recherches & ces développemens sur le jeu Egyptien, nous allons mettre sous les yeux du public la dissertation que nous avons annoncée & où l'on prouve comment les Egyptiens appliquoient ce jeu à l'art de deviner, & de quelle maniere ce même point de vue s'est transmis jusques dans nos cartes à jouer faites à l'imitation de celles-là.

On y verra en particulier ce que nous avons déjà dit dans ce volume, que l'explication des songes tenoit dans l'antiquité à la science hiéroglyphique & philosophique des sages, ceux-ci ayant cherché à réduire en science le résultat de leurs combinaisons sur les songes dont la divinité permettoit l'accomplissement; & que toute cette science s'évanouit dans la suite des tems, & fut sagement défendue, parce qu'elle se réduisit à de vaines & futiles observations, qui dans des siècles peu éclairés auroient pu être contraires aux intérêts les plus essentiels des foibles & des superstitieux.

Cet observateur judicieux nous fournit de nouvelles preuves que les cartes Espagnoles sont une imitation de l'Egypte, puisqu'il nous apprend que ce n'est qu'avec un jeu de piquet qu'on consulte les sorts, & que plusieurs noms de ces cartes sont absolument relatifs à des idées Egyptiennes.

Le trois de denier est appellé le siegneur, ou *Osiris*.
Le trois de coupe, la souveraine, ou *Isis*.
Le deux de coupe, la *Vache*, ou *Apis*.
Le neuf de denier, *Mercure*.
L'as de bâton, le *Serpent*, symbole de l'agriculture chez les Egyptiens.
L'as de denier, le *Borgne*, ou *Apollon*.

Ce nom de Borgne, donné à Apollon ou au soleil comme n'ayant qu'un œil, est une épithète prise dans la nature & qui nous fournira une preuve à ajoûter à plusieurs autres, que le fameux personnage de l'Edda qui a perdu un de ses yeux à une célèbre fontaine allégorique, n'est autre que le soleil, le borgne ou l'œil unique par excellence.

Cette dissertation est d'ailleurs si remplie de choses, & si propre à donner de saines idées sur la maniere dont les sages d'Egypte consultoient le livre du destin, que nous ne doutons pas qu'elle ne soit bien accueillie du public, privé d'ailleurs jusqu'à présent de recherches pareilles, parce que jusques à présent personne n'avoit eu le courage de s'occuper d'objets qui paroissoient perdus à jamais dans la profonde nuit des tems.

RECHERCHES

SUR LES TAROTS,

ET SUR LA DIVINATION PAR LES CARTES DES TAROTS;

PAR M. LE C. DE M. ***

I.

Livre de Thot.

Le desir d'apprendre se développe dans le cœur de l'homme à mesure que son esprit acquiert de nouvelles connoissances: le besoin de les conserver, & l'envie de les transmettre, fit imaginer des caracteres dont THOT ou mercure fut regardé comme l'inventeur. Ces caracteres ne furent point, dans le principe, des signes de convention, qui n'exprimassent, comme nos lettres actuelles, que le son des mots; ils étoient autant d'images véritables avec lesquelles on formoit des tableaux, qui peignoient aux yeux les choses dont ou vouloit parler.

Il est naturel que l'inventeur de ces images ait été le premier historien: en effet, THOT est considéré comme ayant peint les dieux,[1] c'est-àdire, les actes de la toute-puissance, ou la création, à laquelle il joignit des préceptes de morale. Ce livre paroît avoir été nommé A-ROSH; d'A, doctrine, science; & de ROSCH,[2] Mercure, qui, joint à l'article T, signifie tableaux de la doctrine de Mercure; mais comme Rosh veut aussi dire *commencement*, ce mot TA-ROSH fut particulierement consacré à sa cosmogonie de même que l'ETHOTIA, *Histoire du Tems*, fut le titre de son astronomie; & peut-être qu'ATHOTHES, qu'on a pris pour un roi, fils de Thot, n'est que l'enfant de son génie, & l'histoire des rois d'Egypte.

Cette antique cosmogonie, ce livre des Ta-Rosh, à quelques légeres altérations près, paroît être parvenu jusqu'à nous dans les cartes qui portent encore ce nom,[3] soit que la cupidité les ait conservées pour filouter le désœuvrement, ou que la superstition ait

[1] Les dieux, dans l'ecriture & dans l'expression hiéroglyphique, sont l'Eternel & les vertus, représentés avec un corps.

[2] Rosh est le nom Egyptien de Mercure & de sa fête qui sé célébroit le premier jour de l'an.

[3] Vingt-deux tableaux forment un livre bien peu volumineux; mais si, comme il paroit vraisemblable, les premieres traditions ont été conservées dans des poëmes, une simple image qui fixoit l'attention du peuple, auquel on expliquoit l'événement, suffisoit pour lui aider à les retenir, ainsi que les vers qui les décrivoient.

préservé des injures du tems, des symboles mystérieux qui lui servoient, comme jadis aux Mages, à tromper la crédulité.

Les Arabes communiquerent ce livre[1] ou jeu aux Espagnols, & les soldats de Charlequint le porterent en Allemagne. Il est composé de trois séries supérieures, représentant les trois premiers siècles, d'Or, d'Argent & d'Airain: chaque série est formée de sept cartes.[2]

Mais comme l'ecriture Egyptienne se lisoit de gauche à droite, la vingt-unieme carte, qui n'a été numérotée qu'avec des chiffres modernes, n'en est pas moins la premiere, & doit être lue de même pour l'intelligence de l'histoire; comme elle est la premiere au jeu de Tarots, & dans l'espece de divination qu'on opéroit avec ces images.

PREMIERE SERIE.

SIECLE D'OR.

La vingt-unieme, ou premiere carte, représente l'UNIVERS par la déesse Isis dans un ovale, ou un œuf, avec les quatre saisons aux quatre coins, l'homme ou l'ange, l'aigle, le bœuf & le lion.

Vingtieme; celle-ci est intitulée le jugement: en effet, un ange sonnant de la trompette, & des hommes sortant de la terre, ont dû induire un peintre, peu versé dans la mythologie, à ne voir dans ce tableau que l'image de la résurrection; mais les anciens regardoient les hommes comme enfans de la terre[3]; & Thot voulut exprimer la CREATION de l'HOMME par la peinture d'Osiris, ou le Dieu générateur, du porte-voix ou VERBE qui commande à la matiere, & par des LANGUES de FEU qui s'échappent de la nuée, l'esprit[4] de Dieu ranimant cette mêmema tiere; enfin par des hommes sortant de la terre pour adorer & admirer la toute-puissance: l'attitude de ces hommes n'annonce point des coupables qui vont paroître devant leur juge.

Dix-neuvieme, la CREATION du SOLEIL qui éclaire l'union de l'homme & de la femme, exprimée par un homme & une femme qui se donnent la main: ce signe est devenu depuis celui des Gémeaux, del'Androgyne: *Duo in carne una.*

Dix-hutieme, la CREATION de la LUNE & des animaux terrestres, exprimés par un loup et un chien, pour signifier les animaux domestiques & sauvages: cet emblême est d'autant mieux choisi, que le chien & le loup sont les seuls qui hurlent à l'aspect de cet astre, comme regrettant la perte du jour. Ce caractere me feroit croite que ce tableau auroit annoncé de trèsgrands malheurs à ceux qui venoient consulter les sorts, si l'on n'y avoit peint la ligne du TROPIQUE, c'est-à-dire, du départ & du retour du soleil, qui laissoit l'espérance consolante d'un beau jour & d'une meilleure fortune. Cependant deux FORTERESSES qui défendent un chemin tracé de sang, & un marais qui termine le

[1] On nomme encore *livret* au Lansquenet, ou Lands-Knecht, la série de cartes qu'on donne aux pontes.

[2] Trois fois 7, nombre mystique, fameux chez les Cabalistes, les Pythagoriciens, &c.

[3] Les dents semées par Cadmus, &c.

[4] Peint même dans nos historiens, sacrés.

tableau, présentent toujours des difficulté sans nombre à surmonter pour détruire un présage aussi sinistre.

Dix-septieme, la CREATION des ETOILES & des poissons, représentées par des etoiles & le verseau.

Seizieme, la MAISON de DIEU renversée, ou le Paradis terrestre dont l'homme & la femme sont précipités par la queue d'une comete ou l'EPEE FLAMBOYANTE, jointe à la chûte de la grêle.

Quinzieme, la DIABLE ou TYPHON, derniere carte de la premiere serie, vient troubler l'innocence de l'homme & terminer l'âge d'or. Sa queue, ses cornes & ses longues oreilles l'annoncent comme un être dégradé : son bras gauche levé, le coude plié formant une N, symbole des êtres produits, nous le fait connoître comme ayant été créé ; mais le flambeau de Prométhée qu'il tient de la main droit, paroît completter la lettre M, qui exprime la génération : en effet, l'histoire de Typhon nous induit naturellement à cette explication ; car, en privant Osiris de sa virilité, il paroît que Typhon vouloit empiéter sur les droits de la puissance productrice ; aussi fut-il le pere des maux qui se répandirent sur la terre.

Les deux ETRES enchaînés à ses pieds marquent la nature humaine dégradée & soumise, ainsi que la génération nouvelle & perverse, dont les ongles crochus expriment la cruauté ; il ne leur manque que les ailes (le génie ou la nature angélique), pour être en tout semblables au diable : un de ces êtres touche avec sa griffe la cuisse de Typhon ; emblême qui dans l'ecriture mythologique fut toujours celui de la génération[1] charnelle : il la touche avec sa griffe gauche pour en marquer l'illégitimité.

Typhon enfin est souvent pris pour l'hiver, & ce tableau terminant l'âge d'or, annonce l'intempérie des saisons, que l'homme chassé du Paradis va éprouver par la suite.

SECONDE SERIE.

SIECLE D'ARGENT.

Quatorzieme, l'ANGE de la TEMPERANCE vient instruire l'homme, pour lui faire éviter la mort à laquelle il est nouvellement condamné : il est peint versant[2] de l'eau dans du vin, pour lui montrer la nécessité d'affoiblir cette liqueur, ou de tempérer ses affections.

Treizieme ; ce nombre, toujours malheureux, est consacré à la MORT, qui est représentée fauchant les têtes couronnées & les têtes vulgaires.

Douzieme, les accidens qui attaquent la vie humaine, représentés par un homme pendu par le pied ; ce qui veut aussi dire que, pour les éviter, il faut en ce monde marcher avec prudence : *Suspenso pede.*

Onzieme, la FORCE vient au secours de la Prudence, & terrasse le lion, qui a toujours été le symbole de la terre inculte & sauvage.

[1] La naissance de Bacchus & de Minerve sont le Tableau Mythologique des deux générations.

[2] Peut-être son attitude a-t-elle trait à la culture de la vigne.

Dixieme, la ROUE DE FORTUNE, au haut de laquelle est un singe couronné, nous apprend qu'après la chûte de l'homme, ce ne fut déjà plus la vertu qui donna les dignités : le lapin qui monte & l'homme qui est précipité, expriment les injustices de l'inconstante déesse : cette roue en même tems est l'emblême de la roue de Pythagore, de de la façon de tirer les sorts par les nombres : cette divination est appellée ARITHMOMANCIE.

Neuvieme, l'HERMITE ou LE SAGE, la lanterne à la main, cherchant la justice sur la terre.

Hutieme, la JUSTICE.

TROISIEME SERIE.

SIECLE DE FER.

Septieme, le CHARIOT de GUERRE dans lequel est un roi cuirassé, armé d'un javelot, exprime les dissensions, les meurtres, les combats du siècle d'airain, & annonce les crimes du siècle de fer.

Sixieme, l'HOMME peint FLOTTANT entre le vice & la vertu, n'est plus conduit par la raison : l'AMOUR ou le désir,[1] les yeux bandés, prêt à lâcher un trait, le fera pencher à droite ou à gauche, suivant qu'il sera guidé par le hasard.

Cinquieme, Jupiter ou l'Eternel monté sur son aigle, la foudre à la main, menace la terre, & va lui donner des rois dans sa colere.

Quatrieme, le roi armé d'une massue[2], dont l'ignorance a fait par la suite une boule impériale : son casque est garni par-derriere de dents de scie, pour faire connoître que rien ne pouvoit assouvir son insatiabilité.[3]

Troisieme, la REINE, la massue à la main ; sa couronne a les mêmes ornemens que le casque du roi.

Deuxieme, l'ORGUEIL des puissans, représentè par les paons, sur lesquels JUNON, montrant le ciel de la main droite, & la terre de la gauche, annonce une religion terrestre ou l'idolâtrie.

Premiere, le BATELEUR tenant la verge des mages, fait des miracles & trompe la crédulité des peuples.

Il est suivi d'une carte unique représentant LA FOLIE qui porte son sac ou ses défauts par derriere, tandis q'un tigre ou les remords, lui dévorant les jarrets, retarde sa marche vers le crime.[4]

Ces vingt-deux premieres cartes sont non-seulement autant d'hiéroglyphes, qui placés dans leur ordre naturel retracent l'histoire des premiers tems, mais elles sont en-

[1] La concupiscence.

[2] Osiris est souvent représenté un fouet à la main, avec un globe & un T : tout cela réuni, peut avoir produit dans la tête d'un cartier Allemand une boule impériale.

[3] Ou sa vengeance, si c'est Osiris irrité.

[4] Cette carte n'a point de rang : elle complette l'alphabet sacré, & répond au tau qui veut dire complément, perfection : peut être a-t-on voulu représenter dans son sens le plus naturel le résultat des actions des hommes.

core autant de lettres [5] qui différemment combinées, peuvent former autant de phrases; aussi leur nom (a-tout) n'est que la traduction littérale de leur emploi & propriété générale.

II.

Ce Jeu appliqué à la Divination.

Lorsque les Egyptiens eurent oublié la premiere interprétation de ces tableaux, & qu'ils s'en furent servis comme de simples lettres pour leur ecriture sacrée, il étoit naturel qu'un peuple aussi superstitieux attachât une vertu occulte [2] à des caractères respectables par leur antiquité, & que le prêtres, qui seuls en avoient l'intelligence, n'employoient que pour les choses religieuses.

On inventa même de nouveaux caractères, & nous voyons dans l'Ecriture-Sainte que les mages ainsi que ceux qui étoient initiés dans leurs secrets, avoient une divination par la coupe. [3]

Qu'ils opéroient des merveilles avec leur BATON. [4]

Qu'ils consultoient les TALISMANTS [5] ou des pierres gravées.

Qu'ils devinoient les choses futures par des EPEES, [6] des FLECHES, des HARCHES, enfin par les armes en général. Ces quatre signes furent introduits parmi les tableaux religieux aussi-tôt que l'établissement des rois eut amené la différence des états dans la société.

L' EPEE marqua la royauté & les puissans de la terre.

Les Prêtres fasoient usage de Canopes pour les sacrifices, & la COUPE désigna le sacerdoce.

La MONNOIE, le commerce.

Le BATON, la houlette, l'aguillon représenterent l'agriculture.

Ces quatre caractères déja mystérieux, une fois réunis aux tableaux sacrés, durent faire espérer les plus grandes lumieres; & la combinaison fortuite qu'on obtenoit en mêlant ces tableaux, formoit des phrases que les mages lisoient ou interprétoient comme des arrêts du destin; ce qui leur étoit d'autant plus facile qu'une construction due au hasard devoit produire naturellement une obscurité consacrée au style des oracles.

Chaque etat eut donc son symbole qui le caractérisa; & parmi les différens tableaux qui porterent cette image, il y en eut d'heureux & de malheureux, suivant que la position, le nombre des symboles & leurs ornemens, les rendirent propres à annoncer le bonheur ou l'infortune.

[1] L'alphabet Hébreu est composé de 22 lettres.

[2] Aussi la science des nombres & la valeur des lettres a-t-elle été fort célébre autrefois.

[3] La coupe de Joseph.

[4] La verge de Moyse and Mages de Pharaon.

[5] Les Dieux de Laban & les Théraphim, l'Urim & le Thummim.

[6] Ils faisoient plus: ils fixoient le sort des combats; & si le roi Joas avoit frappé la terre sept fois, au lieu de trois, il auroit détrouit la Syrie, II. *Rois, III.* 19.

III.

Noms de diverses Cartes, conservés par les Espagnols.

Les noms de plusieurs de ces tableaux conservés par les Espagnols, nous en font connoître la propriété. Ces noms sont au nombre de sept.

Le trois de denier, nombre mystérieux, appellé le SEIGNEUR, le maître, consacré au Dieu suprême, au Grand Iou.

Le trois de coupe, appellé la DAME, consacré à la reine des cieux.

Le BORGNE ou l'As de denier, *Phœbeæ lampadis instar.* consacré à Apollon.

La VACHE ou les deux coupes, consacré à Apis ou Isis.

Le grand neuf, les neuf coupes; consacré au Destin.

Le petit neuf de denier, consacré à Mercure.

Le SERPENT ou l'As de bâton (Ophion) symbole fameux & sacré chez les Egyptiens.

IV.

Attributs Mythologiques de plusieurs autres.

Plusieurs autres tableaux sont accompagnés d'attributs mythologiques qui paroissent destinés à leur imprimer une vertu particuliere & secrette.

Tels que les deux deniers entourés de la ceinture mystique d'Isis.

Le quatre de denier, consacré à bonne fortune, peinte au milieu du tableau, le pied sur sa boule & le voile déployé.

La dame de bâton consacrée à Cérés; Cette dame est couronnée d'épis, porte la peau du lion, de même qu'Hercule le cultivateur par excellence.

La valet de coupe ayant le bonnet à la main, & portant respectueusement une coupe mystérieuse, couverte d'un voile; il semble en allongeant le bras, éloigner de lui cette coupe, pour nous apprendre qu'on ne doit approcher des choses sacrées qu'avec crainte, & ne chercher à connoître celles qui sont cachées qu'avec discrétion.

L'As d'Epée consacré à Mars. L'Epée est ornée d'une couronne, d'une palme & d'une branche d'olivier avec ses bayes, pour signifier la victoire & ses fruits: il ne paroît y avoir aucune carte heureuse dans cette couleur que celle-ci. Elle est unique, parce qu'il n'y a qu'une façon de bien faire la guerre; celle de vaincre pour avoir la paix. Cette épée est soutenue par un bras gauche sortant d'un nuage.

La tableau du bâton du serpent, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, est orné de fleurs & de fruits de même que celui de l'Epée victorieuse; ce bâton mystérieux est soutenu par un bras droit sortant aussi d'une nuée, mais éclatante de rayons. Ces deux caractéres semblent dire que l'agriculture & l'Epée sont les deux bras de l'empire & le soutien de la société.

Les coupes en géneral annonçoient le bonheur, & les deniers la richesse.

Les bâtons destinés à l'agriculture en pronostiquoient les récoltes plus ou moins abondantes, les choses qui devoient arriver à la campagne ou qui la regardoient.

Ils paroissent mélangés de bien & de mal : les quatre figures ont le bâton verd, semblable en cela au bâton fortuné, mais les autres cartes paroissent, par des ornemens qui se compensent, indiquer l'indifférence : le deux seul, dont les bâtons sont couleur de sang, semble consacré à la mauvaise fortune.

Toutes les epées ne présagent que des malheurs, sur-tout celles qui marquées d'un nombre impair, portent encore une épée sanglante. Le seul signe de la victoire, l'épée couronnée, est dans cette couleur le signe d'un heureux événement.

V.

Comparaison de ces Attributs avec les valeurs qu'on assigne aux Cartes modernes pour la Divination.

Nos diseurs de bonne-fortune ne sachant pas lire les hiéroglyphes, en ont soustrait tous les tableaux & changé jusqu'aux noms de coupe, de bâton, de denier & d'épée, dont ils ne connoissoient ni l'étymologie, ni l'expression ; ils ont substitué ceux de cœur, de carreau, de trefle & de pique.

Mais ils ont retenu certaines tournures & plusieurs expressions consacrées par l'usage qui laissent entrevoir l'origine de leur divination. Selon eux,

Les cœurs, (les coupes), annoncent le bonheur.

Les trefles, (les deniers), la fortune.

Les Piques, (les epées), le malheur.

Les carreaux [1], (les bâtons), l'indifférence & la campagne.

Le neuf de pique est une carte funeste.

Celui de cœur, la carte du soleil ; il est aisé d'y reconnoître le grand neuf, celui des coupes : de même que le petit neuf de trefle, qu'ils regardent aussi comme une carte heureuse.

Les as annoncent des lettres, des nouvelles : en effet qui es plus à même d'apporter des nouuelles que le Borgne, (le soleil) qui parcourt, voit & éclair tout l'univers ?

L'as de pique & le huit de cœur présagent la victoire ; l'as couronné la pronostique de même, & d'autant plus heureuse qu'il est accompagné des coupes ou des signes fortunés.

Les cœurs & plus particulierement le dix, dévoilent les événemens qui doivent arriver à la ville. La coupe, symbole du sacerdoce, semble destinée à exprimer Memphis & le séjour des pontifes.

L'as de cœur & la dame de carreau annoncent une tendresse heureuse & fidelle. L'as de coupe exprime un bonheur unique, qu'on posséde seul ; la dame de carreau indique une femme qui vit à la campagne, ou comme à la campagne : & dans quels lieux peut-on espérer plus de vérité, d'innocence, qu'au village ?

[1] Il est à remarquer que dans l'ecriture symbolique les Egyptiens traçoient des carteaux pour exprimer la campagne.

Le neuf de trefle & la dame de cœur, marquent la jalousie. Quoique le neuf de denier soit une carte fortunée, cependant une grande passion, même heureuse, pour une dame vivant dans le grand monde, ne laisse pas toujours son amant sans inquiétude, &c. &c. On trouveroit encore une infinité de similitudes qu'il est inutile de chercher, n'en voilà déjà que trop.

VI.

Maniere dont on s'en servoit pour consulter les Sorts.

Supposons actuellement que deux hommes qui veulent consulter les sorts, ont, l'un les vingt-deux lettres, l'autre les quatre couleurs, & qu'après avoir chacun mêlé les caractères, & s'être donné réciproquement à couper, ils commencement à compter ensemble jusqu'au nombre quatorze, tenant les tableaux & les carres à l'envers pour n'en appercevoit que le dos; alors s'il arrive une carte à son rang naturel, c'est-à-dire, qui porte le numéro appellé, elle doit être mise à part avec le nombre de la lettre sortie en même tems, qui sera placé au-dessus: celui qui tiendra les tableaux y remettra cette même lettre, pour que le livre du destin soit toujours en son entier, & qu'il ne puisse y avoir, dans aucun cas, des phrases incomplettes; puis il remêlera & redonnera à couper. Enfin on coulera trois fois les cartes à fond avec les mêmes attentions; & lorsque cette opération sera achevée, il ne s'agira plus que de lire les numéros qui expriment les lettres sorties. Le bonheur ou le malheur que présage chacune d'elles, doit être combiné avec celui qu'annonce la carte qui leur correspond, de même que leur puissance en plus ou en moins est déterminée par le nombre de cette même carte, multiplié par celui qui caractérise la lettre. Et voilà pourquoi la folie qui ne produit rien, est sans numéro; c'est, comme nous l'avons dit, le zéro de ce calcul.

VII.

C'étoit une grande portion de la Sagesse ancienne.

Mais si les sages de l'Egypte se servoient de tableau sacrés pour prédire l'avenir, lors même qu'ils n'avoient aucun indication qui pût leur faire présumer les événemens futurs, avec quelles espérances ne devoient-ils pas se flatter de les connoître lorsque leurs recherches étoient précédées par des songes qui pouvoient aider à développer la phrase produite par les tableaux des sorts!

Les prêtres chez cet ancien peuple formerent de bonne-heure une société savante, chargée de conserver & d'etendre les connoissances humaines. Le sacerdoce avoit ses chefs, & les noms de JANNES & MAMBRES, que Saint PAUL nous a conservés dans sa seconde epître à Timothée, sont des titres qui caractérisent les fonctions augustes des pontifes. JANNES[1] signifie *l'Explicateur*, & MAMBRES le *Permutateur*, celui qui fait des prodiges.

[1] De même que Pharaon signifie le souverain sans être le nom particulier d'aucun prince qui ait gouverné l'Egypte.

Le Jannès & le Mambrès, écrivoient leurs interprétations, leurs découvertes, leurs miracles. La suite non interrompue de ces mémoires[1] formoit un corps de science & de doctrine, ou les prêtres puisoient leurs connoissances physiques & morales : ils observoient, sous l'inspection de leurs chefs, le cours des astres, les inondations du nil phénomènes, &c. Les rois les assembloient quelquefois pour s'aider de leurs conseils. Nous voyons que du tems du patriarche Joseph ils furent appellés par Pharaon pour interpréter un songe; & si Joseph seul eut la gloire d'en découvrir le sens, il n'en reste pas moins prouvé qu'une des fonctions des mages étoit d'expliquer les songes.

Les Egyptiens[2] n'avoient point encore donné dans les erreurs de l'idolâtrie; mais Dieu dans ces tems reculés manifestant souvent aux hommes sa volonté, si quelqu'un avoit pû regarder comme téméraire de l'interroger sur ses décrets éternels, il auroit au moins dû paroître pardonnable de chercher à les pénétrer, lorsque la Divinité sembloit, non-seulement approuver, mais même provoquer, par des songes, cette curiosité : aussi leur interprétation fut-elle un art sublime, une sciénce sacrée dont on faisoit une étude particuliere, réservée aux ministres des autels : & lorsque les officiers de Pharaon, prisonniers avec Joseph, s'affligeoient de n'avoir personne pour expliquer leurs songes, ce n'est pas qu'ils n'eussent des compagnons de leur infortune; mais c'est qu'enfermés dans la prison du chef de la milice, il n'y avoit personne parmi les soldats qui pût faire les cérémonies religieuses, qui eût les tableaux sacrés, bien loin d'en avoir l'intelligence. La réponse même du patriarche paroît expliquer leur pensée : est-ce que l'interprétation, leur dit-il, ne dépend pas du Seigneur; racontez-moi ce que vous avez vu.

Mais pour revenir aux fonctions des prêtres, ils commençoient par écrire en lettres vulgaires le songe dont il s'agissoit, comme dans toute divination où il y avoit une demande positive dont il falloit chercher la réponse dans le livre des sorts, & après avoir mêlé les lettres sacrées on en tiroit les tableaux, avec l'attention de les placer scrupuleusement sous les mots dont on cherchoit l'explication; & la phrase formée par ces tableaux, étoit déchiffrée par le Jannès.

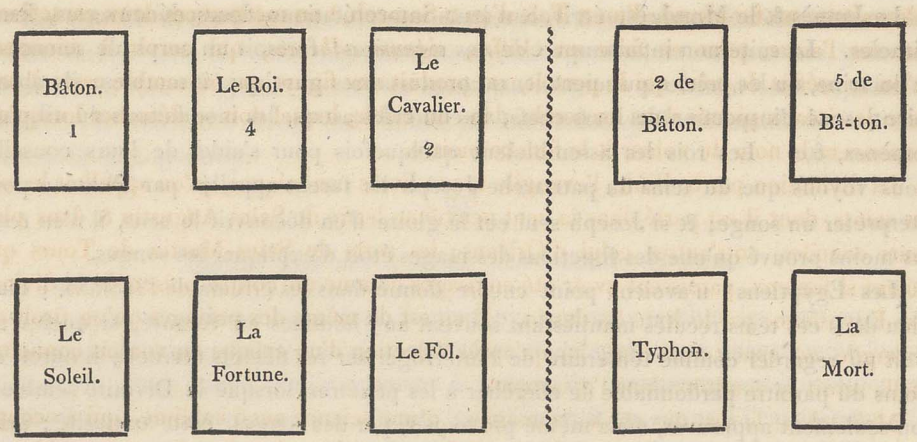
Supposons, par exemple, qu'un mage eût voulu interpréter le songe de Pharaon dont nous parlions tout-à-l'heure, ainsi qu'ils avoient essayé d'imiter les miracles de Moyse, & qu'il eût amené le bâton fortuné, symbole par excellence de l'agriculture, suivi du cavalier & du roi;[3] qu'il sortît en même tems du livre du destin la carte du soleil, la fortune & le fol, on aura le premier membre de la phrase qu'on cherche. S'il sort ensuite le deux & le cinque de bâton dont le symbole est marqué de sang, & que des tableaux sacrés on tire un Typhon & la mort, il auroit obtenu une espèce d'interprétation du songe du roi, qui pourroit été écrit ainsi en lettres ordinaires :

Sept vaches grasses & sept maigres qui les dévorent.

[1] Le Pape Gelase I. mit en 491 quelques livres de Jannès & Mambrès au nombre des apocryphes.

[2] Long-tems encore après cette époque les mages reconnurent le doigt de Dieu dans les miracles de Moyse.

[3] Le Valet vaut ... 1.
Le Cavalier ..... 2.
La Dame ..... 3.
Le Roi ..... 4.



Calcul naturel qui résulte de cet arrangement.

Le bâton vaut.	1.	Le soleil annonce le bonheur.
Le roi	4.	La Fortune[1] de même.
Le cavalier	2.	Le Fol ou zéro met le soleil aux centaines.
Total	7.	

Le Signe d l'Agriculture donne sept.

On lira donc, sept annés d'une agriculture fortunée donneront une abondance cent fois plus grande qu'on ne l'aura jamais éprouvée.

Le second membre de cette phrase, fermé par le deux & le cinq de bâton, donne aussi le nombre de sept qui, combiné avec le Typhon & la mort, annonce sept années de disette, la famine & les maux qu'elle entraîne.

Cette explication paroîtra encore plus naturelle si l'on fait attention au sens & à la valeur des lettres que les tableaux représentent.

Le soleil répondant au Gimel, veut dire, dans ce sens, rétribution, bonheur.

La fortune ou le Lamed signifie regle, loi, science.

Le fol n'exprime rien par-lui-même, il répond an Tau, c'est simplement un signe, une marque.

Le Typhon ou le Zaïn annonce l'inconstance, l'erreur, la foi violée, le crime.

La mort ou le Thet indique l'action de balayer: en effet, la mort est une terrible balayeuse.

Teleuté en Grec qui veut dire la fin, pourroit être, en ce sens, un dérivé de thet.

Il ne seroit pas difficile de trouver dans les mœurs Egyptiennes l'origine de la plûspart de nos superstitions: par exemple, il paroît que celle de faire tourner le tamis pour connoître un voleur, doit sa naissance à la coutume que ce peuple avoit de marquer les

[1] Précédée d'une carte heureuse

voleurs avec un fer chaud, d'un ת T, & d'un ס Samech,[1] en mettant ces deux caractères, l'un sur l'autre, pour en faire un chiffre, *signum adherens*, qui servît à annoncer qu'on se méfiât de celui qui le portoit, on produit une figure qui ressemble assez à une paire de ciseaux piqués dans un cercle, dans un crible, lequel doit se détacher lorsqu'on prononcera le nom du voleur & le fera connoitre.

La divination par la Bible, l'evangile & nos livres canoniques, qu'on appelloit le sort des saints, dont il est parlé dans la cent neuviéme lettre de Saint Augustin & dans plusieurs conciles, entr'autres celui d'Orlêans; les sorts de Saint-Martin de Tours qui étoient si fameux, paroissent avoir été envisagés comme un contre-poison de la divination Egyptienne par le livre du destin. Il en est de même des présages qu'on tiroit de l'evangile, *ad apperturam libri*, lorsqu'après l'élection d'un evêque on vouloit connoître quelle seroit sa conduite dans l'episcopat.

Mais tel est le sort des choses humaines: d'une science aussi sublime, qui a occupé les plus grands hommes, les plus savans philosophes, les saints les plus respectables, il ne nous reste que l'usage des enfans de tirer à la belle lettre.

VIII.

Cartes auxquelles les diseurs de bonne-aventure attachent des pronostics.

On se sert d'un jeu de Piquet qu'on mêle, & on fait couper par la personne intéressée.

On tire une carte qu'on nomme As, la seconde sept, & ainsi en remontant jusqu'au roi: un met à part toutes les cartes qui arrivent dans l'ordre du calcul qu'on vient d'établir: c'est-à-dire que si en nommant as, sept, ou tel autre, il arrive un as, un sept, ou celle qui a été nommée, c'est celle qu'il faut mettre à part. On recommence toujours jusqu'à ce qu'on ait épuisé le jeu; & si sur la fin il ne reste pas assez de cartes pour aller jusqu'au roi inclusivement, on reprend des cartes, sans les mêler ni couper, pour achever le calcul jusqu'au roi.

Cette opération du jeu entier se fait trois fois de la même maniere. Il faut avoir le plus grand soin d'arranger les cartes qui sortent du jeu, dans l'ordre qu'elles arrivent, & sur la même ligne, ce qui produit une phrase hiéroglyphique; & voici le moyen de la lire.

Toutes les peintures représentent les personnages dont il peut être question: la premiere qui arrive est toujours celle dont il s'agit.

Les rois sont l'image des souveraine, des parens, des généraux, des magistrats, des vieillards.

Les dames ont les mêmes caractères dans leur genre relativement aux circonstances, soit dans l'ordre politique, grave ou joyeux: tantôt elles sont puissantes, adroites, intriguantes, fidelles ou légeres, passionnées ou indifférentes, quelquefois rivales, complaisantes, confidentes, perfides, &c. S'il arrive deux cartes du même genre, ce sont les secondes qui jouent les seconds rôles.

[1] *Tau*, signe. *Samech*, adheison.

Les valets sont des jeunes gens, des guerriers, des amoureux, des petits-maîtres, des rivaux, &c.

Les sept & les huit sont des demoiselles de tous les genres. Le neuf de cœur se nomme, par excellence, la carte du soleil, parce qu'il annonce toujours des choses brillantes, agréables, des succès, sur-tout s'il est réuni avec le neuf de trefle, qui est aussi une carte de merveilleux augure. Le neuf de carreau désigne le retard en bien ou en mal.

Le neuf de pique est la plus mauvaise carte : il ne présage que des ruines, des maladies, la mort.

Le dix de cœur désigne la ville ; celui de carreau, la campagne ; le dix de trefle, fortune, argent ; celui de pique, des peines & des chagrins.

Les as annoncent des lettres, des nouvelles.

Si les quatre dames arrivent ensemble, cela signifie babil, querelles.

Plusieurs valets ensemble annoncent rivalité, dispute & combats.

Les trefles en général, sur-tout s'ils sortent ensemble, annoncent succès, avantage, fortune, argent.

Les carreaux, la campagne, indifférence.

Les cœurs, contentement, bonheur.

Les piques, pénurie, soucis, chagrins, la mort.

Il faut avoir soin d'arranger les cartes dans le même ordre qu'elles sortent, & sur la même ligne, pour ne pas déranger la phrase, & la lire plus facilement.

Les événemens prédits, en bien ou en mal, peuvent être plus ou moins avantageux ou malheureux, suivant que la carte principale qui les annonce est accompagnée : les piques, par exemple, accompagnés de trefles, surtout s'ils arrivent entre deux trefles, sont moins dangereux ; comme le trefle entre deux piques ou accolé d'un pique, est moins fortuné.

Quelquefois le commencement annonce des accidens funestes ; mais la fin des cartes est favorable, s'il y a beaucoup de trefles ; on les regarde comme amoindris, plus ou moins, suivant la quantité : s'ils sont suivis du neuf, de l'as ou du dix, cela prouve qu'on a couru de grands dangers, mais qu'ils sont passés, & que la fortune change de face.

LES AS.

1 de carreau, 8 de cœur,	bonne Nouvelle.
1 de cœur, dame de pique,	Visite de femme.
1 de cœur, valet de cœur,	Victoire.
1, 9 & valet de cœur,	l'Amant heureux.
1, 10 & 8 de pique,	Malheur.
1 de pique, 8 de cœur,	Victoire.
1 de trefle, valet de pique,	Amitié.

LES 7.

7 & 10 de cœur,	Amitié de Demoiselle.
7 de cœur, dame de carreau,	Amitié de femme.
7 de carreau, roi de cœur.	Retard.

LES 9.

Trois neufs ou trois dix,	Réussite.

LES 10.

10 de trefle, roi de pique,	Présent.
10 de trefle & valet de trefle,	un Amoureux.
10 de pique, valet de careau,	quelqu'un d'inquiet.
10 de cœur, roi de trefle,	Amitié sincère.

N° V.

GIPSIES.

GRELLMAN has taken much pains to shew that Gipsies came originally from Hindostan, that they were of the lowest and most degraded cast of Parias or Suders, and that they migrated when Timur Beg conquered and ravaged India at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The numbers of defenceless beings who were wantonly butchered on this occasion, spread such an universal panic among this unarmed and oppressed race, that they endeavoured to save themselves by flight. They naturally took the only road left open to them at the mouth of the Indus, the whole of the north and east being beset by their cruel enemy. The country of the Zinganen below Multan was their first asylum; here they remained in safety until Timur returned from the Ganges, bringing terror in his course, when these poor wretches again sought security by flight, in which they were accompanied by numbers of the natives; and hence it is supposed the name by which they are known in the south of Europe: *Zingari*. They took, it is supposed, their course through the deserts of Persia, Sigistan, Makran, and Kirman, along the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Euphrates; from thence by Bassora into the great deserts of Arabia; afterwards into Arabia Petræa, and so into Egypt by the Isthmus of Suls. From Egypt they found their way to Europe by various roads. This account, which is sufficiently probable, is very much strengthened by the collections of Mr. Marsden[1] respecting the Gipsy language; he obtained as many words as he could from the Gipsy tribes in England, and procured from Constantinople a collection of words used by the Chingarees, comparing them with the words collected by Ludolf in his History of Ethiopia, from the wandering tribes in Nubia. A great similarity was found between this vocabulary, and the words used to signify the same objects in the Hindostanee language. Pallas[2] had also observed, that the language of some Indians who have resided in Astracan since the commencement of the 17th century resem-

[1] Archæologia, Vol. VII. p. 387. [2] *Der Neuen Nordischen Beyträge. Petersburg*, 1783. 8vo. *Vol. III.*

bled that used by the Gipsies. Bernouille,[1] speaking of the Gipsies found in Brandenburgh, remarks that their language has many words which seem to indicate a Jewish or Hebrew origin. Rudiger[2] observes, that the original Gipsy language partakes of a Sanscrit origin, and, in a subsequent part of his work, he has demonstrated its similarity to the Hindoostanee, and points out some striking resemblances in the customs of the Hindoos and Gipsies.

N° VI.

ON THE TERM ALEA.

The ancients seem to have designated the games of chance played with dice and tables under the term Alea. The more extensive and arbitrary application of it to signify every species of gaming is of more modern times. Etymologists are divided respecting the origin of this word. St. Isidore, in his *Origines*, lib. xvii. cap. 57. defines it thus: "Alea *est ludus tabulæ inventæ a Græcis in otio Trojani belli a quodam milite, nomine Alea, a quo et ars nomen accepit.*" Vossius does uot admit this etymon, but says, that "as we do not find the assertion of St. Isidore supported by any evidence of the existence of a soldier with that name, it is more than probable the word was derived from the Greek αλασθαι, *to waver, vacillate:* nothing being more uncertain than games of chance." *Etymolog. Ling. Latinæ voce Alea.* Herodotus has given the invention to Atys, the Lydian, whom, he asserts, contrived it to divert the people from a sense of their sufferings during a period of famine. Athenæus combats this assertion and says, that the "games of dice and osselets were in use at the time Troy was besieged by the Greeks, an epoch long anterior to the reign of Atys." The authority of Homer, and that of Sophocles, is also opposed to the account given by Herodotus. "Hic Ludis," says the learned Hyde, "qui apud Ciceronem & alios Aleæ nomen habet, is est qui solis *Tesseris* exercebatur; quo differt a *Tabula* in qua præter *Tesseras* etiam *Calculi* erant & Alveus duodecim utrinque scriptis notatus. Aleæ autem in quavis mensa aut humi, aut quovis loco complanato exercere potest & solet;" and he proceeds to notice the later application of the word to signify games of chance. "*Alea* aliquando latius sumitur pro quovis Ludo in qui sors et fortuna dominatur; qui nempe apud æquos Lusores (qui fraudes non adhibent) non quidem peritia aut arte, sed mero casu hunc vel illum eventum sortitur. Alias enim, si peritiæ locus daretur, tum *Aleæ* nomen non ita plane ei quadrare censeretur. Hinc *Alea* nomen competit etiam *Chartis* et aliis Ludis quæ a sorte & fortuna pendent, & quivis rei incerti et dubii eventus propter

[1] Collection of Voyages and Travels in German. Vol. VIII. p. 438.

[2] *Rudiger's Neuesten Zuwachs der Sprachkunde. Leipsic,* 1782. 8vo. *pp.* 37—84.

fortunæ vicissitudinem quæ *Aleas* comitari solet; et *Aleam Subire*, est periclitari res nostras, easque fortunæ & sorti commitere. Huc spectat Athenæi illud ἀνερρίφθω κύβος, jacta est alea. Et Luciani ανερριψομεν κύβον."

The same latitude is used, says Hyde, in regard to the Arabic name of dice, *Kimâr.—De Ludis Orientalibus, Part II. p.* 101. " The games of chance comprised under the name of *Alea*," says M. Simon, " may be reduced to two principal kinds, namely *Osselets* called *Tali*, and *dice* known by the denomination of *Tesseræ*. *Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*. T. I. p. 152. Sipontinus, in his preface to Pliny's Natural History, thus explains the term; " ALEA dicitur omnis ludus magna ex parte in fortuna varietate consistens, sed proprie de *Tesseris* dicitur."—Raderus, in his Commentary on Martial, lib. xiv. Epig. xii. extends the power of the term and says, " ALEA propria est hujus ludi, quamvis de omni generatim ludo Aleæ dicatur, speciatim tamen *Tesseræ* convenit."

It should however appear that in many of the prohibitory decrees dice and tables are the only significations which the term bears: thus the synod of Langres in 1404, " Ne omnino ludant ad Taxillos, ad Aleas, ad Trinquetum neque ad Chartas;" had it then possessed the latitude which Raderus and one or two later writers have pretended, there would have been no occasion for the express prohibition of cards and trictrac, as they would have been included in the term Alea, we may therefore safely conclude, that cards were not intended in the ordinances and prohibitory decrees by this word. Among the miscellaneous works of Cardanus, is a treatise " de Ludo Aleæ." Under this general head he comprehends cards; but one of the chapters is entitled " De differentia Ludi Chartarum à Ludo Alea," in which is the following passage: it may be considered as deciding the question: " Differunt ludi Chartarum à ludis Aleæ, in quibus industria locum habet, quod Alea de futuro judicium fert, et magis licet de alieno successus, tamen etiam de proprio Chartarum autem ludi de præsentibus, et alienis solum judicium requirunt."—" Etenim in Alea nil habeo certum signum, sed omnia plane in pura fortuna reposita sunt, si Alea æqualis sit." And in the 22d chapter of the same treatise, " De divisione Ludorum Gemina."—"Ludorum alii consistant in Alea, id est eventu rei aperte, alii in Chartis, id est eventu rei occultæ, &c."

N° VII.

LUDUS CHARTARUM SEU FOLIORUM DIALOGUS. EX JOAN. LUD. VIVIS LINGUÆ LATINÆ EXERCITATIO. PARISIIS 1545. 12°.

VAL. Quàm asperum tempus, quàm rigens & sævum cœlum, quàm obscœnum solum. TA. Quid nos monet hic cœli ac soli habitus? VAL. Non egredi domo. TA. Quid verò domi agere? VAL. Ad luculentum focum studere, meditari, cogitare de rebus, quæ aliquid emolumenti adferant menti & probis moribus. CA. Id quidem agendum præcipuè, nec aliquid esse debet homini antiquius. Sed ubi ab intentione illa delassatus fuerit animus, quò divertes, hoc duntaxat tempore? VAL. Aliis quidem aliæ sunt animorum refectiones: ego verò lusu foliorum magnopere oblector ac recreor. TA. Et hæc temporis qualitas eò invitat, ut abdamus nos in cubiculum bene clausum, & obseptum undique à vento & frigore, lucente camino, mensa posita cum chartis. VAL. Au, minimè chartas. TA. Lusorias dico. VAL. Istud placet. TA. Tum pecuniæ promatur nonnihil, & calculi ad computandum. VA. Nihil opus erit calculis, si minutuli adsint numi. TA. Ego nullos habeo, præterquam aureos et argenteos crassiores. VALD. Commuta aliquos ex argenteis minuta pecunia. heus puer, cape stuferos hos simplos, duplos, sesquiduplos, triplos, & à numulario cura nobis numos minutos, simplos, duplos, triplos, non majores. TA. Quàm nitidi sunt hi numi? VAL. Nimirum recentes adhuc, & asperi. TA. Concedamus in forum aleatorium, ubi omnia invenies parata. CASTEL. Non expedit, nam haberemus arbitros plurimos. quid refert ludas illic, an via publica? Consultius fuerit, ut recipiamus nos in cubiculum tuum, & accersamus ex sodalibus aliquot maximè animo refocillando idoneos. TA. Tuum conclaue est ad id commodius. nam in meo cubiculo subinde à pedissequis matris interpellaremur, aliquid semper quæritantibus in arcis mundi muliebribus. VALD. In cœnatione igitur. TA. Esto ita, eamus. Puer siste hîc nobis Franciscum Lupianum & Rodericum Manricum, et Zoilastrum. VAL. Mane: minimè verò Zoilastrum hominem iracundum, rixosum, clamosum, calumniatorem, & qui minimis de rebus excitat sæpe atroces tragœdias. CAST. Optimè profectò mones. nam si adolescens talis recreationi se nostræ admisceret, non esset id ludere, sed seriò rixari. accerse igitur pro illo Rimosulum. V. Neque hunc: nisi velis, quæcunque hîc fuerimus nugati, ante solis occasum nota esse toti civitati. CAST. Tam bonus est præco? VA. Etiam rerum, quas sciri nihil attinet: nam res bonas sacratius reticet, quam mysteria Eleusinia. TA. Veniant ergo Lupianus et Manricus soli. CA. Hi sunt belli sodales. TA. Et mone illos, ut adferant secum numulos: quicquid est autem severitatis & serii, domi commendent Philopono tetrico: veniant facetiis, lepôre, gratiis comitati. LVP. Salvi sitis, sodales festivissimi. VAL. Quid sibi vult contractio isthæc frontis?

exporrigite istos vulticulos. an non estis jussi, cogitationes omnes literatas apud Musea deponere? Lvp. Cogitationes nostræ literariæ sunt adeò illiteratæ, ut eas Musæ quæ sunt in Museo, respuant. Ma. Salvete. Val. Salus est dubia, quando ad acies & pugnas vocamini, & quidem quibus reges sint interfuturi. Ta. Este bono animo: crumenæ impetuntur, non jugula. Lv. Crumena plerisque est pro jugulo, & pecunia pro sanguine ac spiritu, velut istis Caribus: quorum vitæ contemptus instrumentum est regibus ad exercendos suos furores. Man. Nolo ego esse actor in hac fabula, sed spectator. Ta. Quî sic? Man. Quia sum infortunatissimus, semper à ludo discedo victus & spoliatus. Ta. Scis quid dicunt proverbio aleatores? ibi quærendam esse togam, ubi amiseris. Man. Verum, sed periculum est ne dum togam amissam quæro, perdam & tunicam & interulam. Ta. Accidit quidem hoc non rarò: sed qui non periclitatur, non ditescit. Man. Ea est metallicidarum sententia. Ta. Imò etiam Iani medii Antuerpiensis. Val. Rectè habet. non possumus nisi quatuor ludere, sumus quinque, sortiemur quis erit aliorum spectator. Man. Ego ero sine sortitione. Val. Nihil tale, nulli est facienda injuria. non cujusquam voluntas id decernet, sed sors: cui primus rex obtigerit, sedebit ociosus spectator: & si quid inciderit controversiæ, judex. Lvp. Ecce vobis fasciculos duos foliorum integros, alter est Hispaniensis, alter Gallicus. Val. Hispaniensis hic non videtur justus. Lvp. Quid ita? Va. Quoniam desunt decades. Lvp. Non solent illi habere, ut Gallici. Chartæ enim Hispanæ, quemadmodum & Gallicæ, in quatuor sunt genera seu familias divisæ. Hispanæ habent aureos numos, carchesia, baculos, enses: Gallicæ corda, rhombulos, trifolia, vomerculos, seu palas, seu spicula. est in quaquæ familia rex, regina, eques, monas, dyas, trias, quaternio, pentas, senio, heptas, ogdoas, enneas, Gallicæ habent etiam decades: & Hispanis aurei, & carchesia potiora sunt pauciora, contra, enses & baculi: Gallis autem plura sunt semper meliora. Cas. Quo lusu ludemus? Val. Triumpho Hispanico, & distributor retinebit sibi indicem chartam, si sit monas, aut imago humana. Man. Sciamus jam, quis erit ludo exclusus. T. Probè mones, cedo folia, hoc est tuum, hoc istius, hoc Lupiani, tu es judex. Val. Malim te mihi judicem, quàm collusorem. Lvp. Bona verba, cur isthuc quæso? Val. Quia es in ludendo admodam vafer, & cavillator: tum aiunt te artem tenere componendi folia, ut tibi expediat. Lvp. Non habet fraudem mea lusio, sed imperitiæ tuæ industria mea videtur impostura, quod ferè ignaris contingit. Cæterum quî tibi placet Castellus, qui simul ac lucratus est pauxillum pecuniæ, deserit collusores? T. Eludere est hoc quidem potius quàm ludere. Ve. Levius hoc malum nam si vincatur, affixus erit ludo, clavo plusquam trabali. Ta. Sed lusuri sumus bini, duo contra duos, quomodo erimus comparati. Val. Ego ludi hujus insciens, adhærebo tibi Castelle, quem audio esse callentissimum. Ta. Adde etiam callidissimum. Ca. Non est hîc opus electionibus, sorti sunt committenda omnia: quibus obvenerunt plura puncta, adversus eos pugnabunt, quibus pauciora. Val. Esto ita, assigna folia. Man. Ut optaveram, ego & Castellus ab eadem stamus parte, contrarias tuentur partes Valdaura & Tamayus. Va. Sedeamus, uti solemus, decussate: da mihi illam sellam reclinatoriam, ut quietius perdam. Tam. Appone scabella, assideamus jam, sortire cujus sint primæ partes. Vald. Meæ sunt, distribue tu Castelle. Castel. Quomodo? à sini-

stra in dextram, more Belgico? an contrà Hispano more, à dextra ad sinistram? VAL. Hoc more, quoniam ludo Hispanorum utimur, & rejecistin' decades? CA. Etiam. quot folia dabo singulis? VA. Nouena. Sed quænam erit sponsio? M. Terni in singulas manus denarii cum geminatione sponsionis. CAST. Sensim mi Manrice, nimium properas. non esset is lusus, sed furor, ubi tantum pecuniæ veniret in periculum: quomodo posses tu oblectari in anxietate illa? ne tot numi tibi pereant, denarii singuli sufficient, & auctus sponsionis erit dimidii, nempe assium quinque. VALDAVRA. Rectè consulis, ita nec nihil ludemus, quod est insipidum: nec quod doleat, quod est acerbum. CASTELLVS. Habetis singuli novena folia? cordium est familia dominatrix, & hæc regina est mea. VAL. Nescio quàm felix est omen hoc, certè est verissimum dominari vulgò corda fœminarum. CAST. Desine speculationes, responde ad hoc, augeo sponsionem. VAL. Ludum habeo dissipatum, & malè cohærentem: cedo tibi. TA. Et ego item. distribue tu Manrice. VAD. Quid agis? non vertis chartam indicem? MAN. Volo prias meas computare, ne plures aut pauciores acceperim. VAL. Unam habes plus justo. MAN. Deponam. VAL. Non est ea lex lusus, sed ut vicem tuam amittas distribuendi: & transeat at sequentem. cedo folia. MAN. Non faciam, quandoquidem nondum protuli indicem. VAL. Imò facies per deum. CAST. Apage quid tibi venit in mentem mi Valdaura? jusjurandum admisces rebus levissimis, quod vix gravissimis rebus adhiberi convenit? MAN. Quid tu dicis judex? LVP. Profectò ignoro, quid sit in eo facto statuendum. MAN. Qualem judicem nobis præfecimus sine judicio? ducem sine oculis? VAL. Quid ergo fiet? MAN. Quid tandem? nisi ut mittamus Lutetiam, qui hac de re adferat nobis aliquod senatusconsultum. CAST. Misce omnia, et rursum impartire. TA. O qualem ludum mitto de manibus, non obveniet mihi hodie similis. CA. Misce probè istæc folia et præbeto singulis attentius. VA. Rursum augeo sponsionem. TA. Num non prædixi, non habiturum me hodie in manibus ludum illi parem? semper sum infortunatissimus. cur ego ludum vel aspicio oculis? CAS. Hoc verò non est ludere, sed se afflictare. hoc est refici, & recreari animum, ita concitari? ludum oportet esse ludum, non molestiam. MAN. Sustine paulisper, ne abjicias folia. nam est panicum. VA. Responde igitur, an recipias? MAN. Recipio, & rursum augeo. VAL. Quid tu speras, me ferocibus tuis verbis protelare? non concedo. MA. Effare tandem semel, & expeditè, admittisne? VAL. Etiam & quidem libentissimè: & animus instigat me tali ludo majore pretio certare, sed istud inter amicos sufficit. TA. Quid verò me non computatis inter vivos? adeò nulla est mei mentio? CA. Quid igitur tu ad hæc, homo fœnee? TA. Ego verò augeo mea ex parte depositum. MAN. Quid tu dicis Castelle? CAST. Nunc me consulis, posteaquàm tua opera depositum crevit immensum: ego incrementum hoc non auderem hoc meo ludo sustinere. VAL. Responde affirmatè. CAST. Non habeo quod sic respondeam, sed valde ambiguè & dubitanter, & cunctabundè, & timidè, & diffidenter. estnè sic satis expressè dictum? MAN. Deum immortalem quanta copia, non tam densa nuper cadebat grando. Sed quæso te, periclitemur paulisper. CAST. Experiamur quando ita tibi placet, à me verò ne speraris magnam opem. MAN. Feres tamen quas poteris suppetias. CAST. Nihil necesse id habes admonere. MAN. Planè victi sumus. TA. Vicimus denarios quatuor. misce. VALD.

Addo asses quinque. Cas. Nescio an cedam. nam scio me certè victum iri. Ta. Rursum alteros quinque. Cast. Quid tu ad hanc provocationem dicis? Man. Quid dicam? fugio. Cast. Tu perdidisti proximum ludum, sine me hunc arbitratu meo perdere. Sentio me esse inferiorem. sed sustinendum est, quandiu aliquid videro superesse virium. Val. Quid ergo dicis? recusas? Cast. Non, imò addico. Ta. Tu Valdaura non nosti hunc Castellum? superiorem habet ludum tuo, sed ita solet calidos provocatores illectare in suum rete. Vide ne quò progrediaris temerè, ubi tenearis irretitus. Val. Divûm fidem, quomodo potuisti divinare folium mihi postremum restare hujus nationis? Cast. Novi omnia folia. Val. Non omnino est isthuc incredibile. Ca. Ita planè novi à facie. Val. Forsitan etiam à tergo. Cast. Nimium suspiciosus es. Val. Tu me facis, eat hoc cum tua bona venia. Ta. Dispiciamus, num quæ sint chartæ aversæ maculatæ, unde possint noscitari. Val. Faciamus, quæso vos, ludendi finem: angit me hic ludus, tam infeliciter cedendo. Cast. Ubi voles, sed fortasse non in ludo est vitium, sed in tua imperitia, qui nescis ludum scienter ad victoriam accommodare, sed jacis folia absque arte, ut sors tulerit, ratus, nihil interesse, quid prius, quid posterius mittas, quid quo loco sis jacturus. Ta. Omnium rerum est satietas, etiam voluptatum, & ego defessus sum jam sedendo, assurgamus aliquantisper. Lvp. Cape testudinem hanc, & aliquid nobis cantilla. Ta. Quid tandem? Lvp. De ludo quippiam. Ta. Carmen Virgilii? L. Istuc ipsum, aut si mavis Vivis nostri, quod ille nuper canebat de ambulans in pomœrio Brugensi. Va. Anserina voce? Lv. Cane tu olerina. Ta. Deus meliora: nam olor non canit, nisi fato jam urgente.

Ludunt & pueri. ludunt invenesque senesque.
Ingenium, gravitas, cani, prudentia, ludus,
Denique mortalis, sola virtute remota,
Quid nisi nugatrix, & vana est fabula, vita?

Val. Possum vobis confirmare, esse carmen bene expressum, tanquam ex spongia arida. Lv. Tanta cum difficultate componit carmen? Val. Magna. sive quòd rarò, sive quòd non libenter, sive quòd aliò fert eum ingenii pronitas.

N° VIII.

EXTRACT FROM MARINEUS SICULIS *apud* THIERS TRAITÉ DES JEUX ET DIVERTISSEMENS. PARIS 1686. 12°

La jurisprudence d'Espagne n'est pas differente de celle de France sur le sujet des mêmes jeux. En voici une preuve incontestable. Lucius Marineus le Sicilien Historiographe d'Espagne[1], rapporte que Ferdinand Roi d'Espagne de Castille, & de Léon & la Reine Isabelle sa femme défendirent particulierement les jeux de cartes & de dez qui causent tous les jours divers genres de maux. " Car ces jeux, dit cet Auteur, sont " sembables aux femme débauchées, qui infatuent de je ne sçai quels plaisirs, non seule- " ment les gens du commun et les idiots, mais même les Gentils-hommes et les per- " sonnes de la premiere qualité, les sçavans, les prêtres, les prelats. C'est ce qui " obligea ces deux princes Catholiques de faire publier des edits contre tous ceux qui " joüeroient à ces jeux, & d'imposer de grandes peines aux contrevenans. Ce qu'ils " ordonnerent sans doute avec beaucoup de prudence & de sainteté, à cause des de- " sordres effroiables que produit ordinairement le jeu. Car les joüeurs aprés avoir mal- " heureusement perdu leur argent & leur bien, sont réduits à la derniere misére, se " desesperent & se tuent cruellement eux-mêmes. Les uns se pendent, les autres se " poignardent, les autres se precipitent du haut en bas des tours, les autres se jettent " dans des puits; les uns feignent d'estre foûs, les autres le deviennent en effet; plu- " sieurs deviennent voleurs. Au premier petit larcin qu'ils commettent on les proméne " sur des asnes avec une mitre de papier en tête, on les dépoüille, on les bat avec des " nerfs de bœuf, & le crieur marche devant eux qui publie leur crime. Au second larcin " on les traite encore plus rudement, & on leur coupe les oreilles. S'ils viennent à " commettre un troisiéme larcin, on les pend. Et quand ils volent sur les grands che- " mins & qu'ils dépouillent les voïageurs, ou qu'ils les tuent, on les attache à un pôteau " & on les fait passer par les armes. C'est ainsi qu'on traite les joüeurs en Espagne. Il " seroit à souhaiter que la pluspart de ceux qui joüent aujourd'hui fissent reflexion là- " dessus. Car peut estre s'abstiendroient ils du jeu; peut-estre comprendroient ils " combien la vie des joüeurs est miserable, pernicieuse, détestable & dangereuse, estant " tourmentez comme ils sont des remords de leur conscience, & aïant sans cesse " devant les yeux l'image épouventable de la mort.

[1] L. 19. rebus Hispan.

N° IX.

EXTRACT FROM BARETTI'S ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF ITALY, VOL. II. CHAP. XXXIII. P. 217. LONDON 1768. 8°.

THE man would certainly appear extraordinary, if not ridiculous, who should attempt to appreciate the different degrees of mental power possessed by the chief European nations, when considered as bodies opposed to bodies, and endeavour to form his estimate, either by drawing inferences from those portions of wit that they must necessarily employ when they play at their national games of cards, and from those resources of genius that must have been possessed by those amongst their respective predecessors, who first invented those games.

Forbearing therefore to enter into this subtle and odd disquisition, I will only observe, that it is not without reason the English are proud of their *whist*, the French of their *piquet*, and the Spaniards of their *ombre*[1], which, as I take it, are the three best games of cards amongst the several that these nations possess. To obtain a victory or to hinder a defeat at any of these games, requires so much quickness and dexterity of mind, that I do not wonder if even men of good parts are flattered when they are praised for this accomplishment.

Which of these three games required the greater effort in the invention, or demands most skill in the management, I will not take upon me to determine: but I think myself well intitled to say, that three or four of our Italian games of cards are almost as superior in both respects to whist, to piquet, and to ombre, as chess is superior to polish-drafts. The games I mean, are those which we form out of those cards called *Minchiate* and *Tarrocco's*: the first chiefly in vogue all over Tuscany and the Pope's dominions; the second in Piedmont and Lombardy. I crave the reader's indulgence for endeavouring to give him some idea of both these games, just to make him sensible, that the Italians, who have often appeared great in the arts considered by mankind as great, are likewise great in those that mankind will regard as little.

Both the minchiate and the tarrocco's consist of five suits instead of four, as common cards do. Four of those five suits answer exactly to the four of the common cards, with only the addition of one card to the three that are figured in each suit; so that, instead of king, queen, and knave, we have king, queen, horseman, and knave, both in the minchiate and the tarrocco's. As to the fifth suit, it consists of forty-one cards in the minchiate, and of twenty-two in the tarrocco's; and this fifth suit in both games is called by a name that answers to *trumps* in English. Both games may be played by only two, or only three people in several ways; but the most ingenious as well as the most in use, are two or three games that are played by four people; and more especially

[1] It ought to be spelled *hombre*, which in Spanish signifies a *man*.

one against three, much after the ruling principle of ombre, and another played two against two, not unlike whist.

By this account the reader will soon comprehend, that each of these games must necessarily be much superior to whist and ombre, because of the greater number of combinations produced either by the ninety-seven cards of the minchiate, or by the seventy-eight of tarrocco; which combinations cannot but give a larger scope to the imagination of the player than the lesser number arising from the forty of ombre, or the fifty-two of whist, and oblige him to exert his memory and judgment much more than either at whist, ombre, or piquet.

I have heard strangers, unable to comprehend these our games, object both to the tarrocco's and the minchiate, that they cannot be so diverting as the three mentioned, because they produce so many combinations as must prove too fatiguing. But if this argument carries conviction, we must of course conclude, that chess is less delightful than loo, because it forces the mind to a greater recollection of its powers than loo. This reasoning is certainly just with regard to little and sluggish minds; but will not hold with respect to those that are lively and comprehensive. However, those Italians, whose minds are much too contracted and disproportioned to the tarrocco's and the minchiate, or those who do not chuse to exert their talents too much, have still the means of diverting themselves with several other games at cards that require no greater compass of imagination, memory, and understanding, than whist, piquet, and ombre: and other still, that are upon a pretty equal footing with humble loo itself.

Let me add an observation more upon this subject. Many strangers are surprised that the Italians learn their games easily, and in a very little time play at them with as much skill as the best players among themselves. Hence they infer very kindly, that Italy abounds in gamblers more than their own respective countries. But is this inference very logical? I apprehend they would say better, if they would be pleased to say, that the Italians, accustomed to more complicated games, can easily descend to play those, which, comparatively speaking, require less wit and less attention.

N. B. I have not wrote this short chapter for the perusal of those who make it a point to contemn all frivolous amusements, and look upon themselves with great reverence because they always detested gaming. I intend it only for those connoisseurs in ingenuity, who know that cards have not only the power of rescuing the ordinary part of mankind from the torpid encroachments of dulness, but of affording also an efficacious refreshment even to the thinker, after a long run of deep meditation.

N° X.

EXCERPTA EX CARDANI OPERA, TOM. I. PAG. 27. LUGDUNI 1663. FOLIO.

LIBER DE LUDO ALEÆ.

Cap. I. *De Ludorum Generibus.*

Ludi constant, aut agilitate corporis, velut Pila, aut robore, ut Discus et Lucta aut industriâ, ut Latrunculorum, aut fortunà, ut Aleæ propriè, et talorum, aut utroque ut Fritilli. Industria autem duplex, aut ludendi, aut certandi, velut in primaria, nam et chartarum ludus nomen subit Aleæ, quòd antiquo tempore chartæ ignotæ essent: imò et materia, qua conficiuntur. Indicio est, quod scriberent in Pergamenis coriis, scilicet hædorum, et Papyro Ægyptia, et Tabulis, et Cera et Philira. Dicitur autem primaria, quod primum obtineat locum inter ludos Aleæ, seu pulchritudine, seu quòd ex quatuor constet, quasi conjugationibus primis, et ad numerum elementorum ex quibus componimur, non autem mundi. Continet autem varietates miras.

Cap. XVI. *De Ludo Chartarum.*

Si de omnibus discere voluero, infinitum erit, sunt autem duo genera, prima cum actione et sine actione. Differt ab alea quod illa aperta sit, Ludi Chartarum fiunt ex insidiis, nam occultæ sunt. Primera est omnium nobilior. Constat ex quatuor chartis, juxta diversitatem natura, chartæ enim apud Gallos, Hispanos, Germanos atque Italos sunt quatuor differentiarum, et sunt tredecim, omnes igitur quinquaginta duæ, sunt autem ab uno ad decem, juxta numerorum seriem. Inde rex cum pedite, Galli reginam, Itali equitem habent. Igitur in primera eximuntur numeri octo, novem, decem, Rex, Pedes, et Regina, vel Eques, decem valent singuli. A binario ad quinque adduntur decem, ut valeant, duodecim, tredecim, quatuordecim, quindecim sex et septem triplicantur, ut sex valeat decem octo, septem viginti unum, unum autem valet sexdecim. Ita maximus numerus constat ex septem, sex, et uno, et sunt 21. 18. 16. omnes 55 sed si compleatur numerus omnium, addito quinario, omnes ejusdem generis chartæ 70. numerum perficiunt.

Est autem duplex primera, quæ majore numero potior est, qui diversus est pro natura modorum: et quæ minore, et parum est in usu; quæ in chartis diversorum generum, minimum numerum habet 20. in primera 40. et in fluxu 42. modi autem iidem sunt, qui in priore, et eundem inter se ordinem servant.

Sunt igitur modi in utroque genere quinque; numerus, primera, supremus, fluxus et chorus. Numerus est, cum duæ aut tres chartæ sunt ejusdem generis, et minimus est 20.

et fit ex duobus chartis minoribus, quas figuras vocant, quia depictam habent formam humanam, (ut dictum est) regis, vel reginæ, seu equitis, et peditis, maximus est 54. constant tribus chartis, septenario, senario, et quinario. Secundus est primera, cum charte omnes fuerint diversorum generum, et qualiscumque sit omnem numerum vincit. Minimus numerus est (ut dixi) 40. maximus 81.

Hanc superat quantacumque sit supremus id est 55. cum tres chartæ ejusdem generis fuerat septem, sex, et unus, qui implent 55. Quarto loco est fluxus, qui constat ex quatuor chartis ejusdem generis, vincitque primeram supremumque numerum. Et minimus numerus (ut dixi) est 42. Maximus autem 70. Quintus modus est ex genere primeræ, sed omnes chartas habet similes. Quatuor senarii aut septenarii, aut quatuor reges. Neque enim tres reges. et una regina chorum faciunt, licet omnes denario numero æstimentur. Hic modus vincit omnes alios præcedentes. In eo autem, vincit major numerus. Maximus numerus est 84. si sint figuræ pares, ut quatuor reges, quatuor pedites, non reges vincunt, quia numero non sunt superiores, sed qui propior est chartas exhibenti à latere dextro. Quod generale est in omnibus paribus numeris in paribus modis. Chartæ binæ, et binæ simul non singula exhibentur. In diversus modis non licet adhere summi pignoris, sed summus punctus pro primera haberi potest, ubi alius primeram nominaverit. Chorus etiam pro primera semper, et pro fluxu celari potest, ubi alius retexerit. Placet damnare malam consuetudinem: nam quidam chorum ostendunt, inde chartam abjiciunt certo loco, aliasque commutationes recipiunt, volunt que manere cum choro, sed nimis contentiosa res est hæc, et fraudi multis modis locum præbet. Propterea qua fortuna venit, ea gaudendum est, nam si in commutatione chartarum favisse voluisset, non antea se exhibuisset in casum. Non enim admittendus est hic usus.

Quia ergo tribus modis consuevit una chârta expectari, vel in minori puncto, ut si collusor habeat 45. tu verò 36. qualicumque charta, ex duabas victor evadis. Vel si collusor habeat 40. tu verò tres chartas diversi generis, primera solum vincere potes. Vel si ille primeram habeat, vel supremum punctum, vel etiam majorem solum, sed ita ut tu tribus chartis minus habeas, necesseque sit fluxum perficere, ut vincas. Solent partem depositi auferre singuli, ut potè dimidium, vel propé reliquum sorti dimittitur, ut sit victoris. Ea autem ratione in primo casu auferri debent (nisi ex rejectis, cognitum sit plures superesse, vel pauciores distribuendas, quàm pro ratione generali; nam si superessent chartæ decem distribuendæ, et in illis adhuc quinque, aut una tantum, aliud esset dicendum) ex æquali: in primera ex dimidio alter ex duplo: in fluxu ex tertia parté, alter ex triplo. Dicam autem quid fieri debeat, non quod fit, eum diversæ sint gentium consuetudines, tantum est ergo auferendum, ut ea conditione non inique certetur. In primo igitur casu, tanto præstat hæc æqualitas, quanto jam binas habenti offertur; nam in reliquis, duæ duo genera occupant: quatuor autem, sunt ita in hæc, quam illa incidere possunt. At si subtilior sit aliqua ratio, eam nunc prætermittere decet, cum in hujusmodi spectanda sit sola utilitas. In secundo autem casu, jam manent apud unum duo, apud alium unum e quatuor vicibus cum tribus succumbat, una

tantum vincat uno in circuitu omnia amittet in qua igitur est conditio. Moventur autem hac ratione quòd si duæ chartæ expectarentur, divitio conveniret æqualis: ergo ex dimidio duorum, dimidium pignoris. Sed rationem sic inire oportet: si quatuor habeat aures tres, amittet in uno circuita, lucrabitur unum, igitur amittet dimidium ejus, quòd habeat: oportet ergo depositi mediam amittere, tantum verò lucrari collusorem: igitur recipiet solum quartam partem illius medietatis, et collusor dodrantem. Quia præter id tres chartæ deficiunt ex eo genere, in his, quæ distribuuntur, detrahere oportet quintam partem quæ est duarum, quibus, qui tres habet, superat unum; nam una charta potior est primera conditione tertiæ partis, jam dictæ: Igitur accipiet solum duo, et socius novem. Quare concludo, quod æquata lance, ut faveamus etiam his, qui fortuna iniquiore ludunt. In primera, qui illam expectat, accipiet duo, alter quinque. In fluxu autem unum, alter quatuor, et hoc est proximus veræ rationi. Cavendum tamen est, ut non id ex arbitrio agatur, sed semper, aut nunquam; aliter iniquissima conditione ludes nam chartam exterius poterit collusor agnoscere; itaque si tibi conveniat, aut illi non paciscetur: At si tibi, non illi verò conveniat, nequaquam. At si modo conditionem recipere oportet, fiat ante exactam chartam, quare inferius extrahendæ sunt, non autem supra.—Liber de Ludo Aleæ. Cap. 16. pp. 267. 8.

Cap. XXII. *De Divisione Ludorum Gemina.*

Ludorum alii consistunt in alea, id est eventu rei aperte, alii in chartis, id est eventu rei occultæ. Utrumque genus dividitur, quoniam alii fortuna tantum constant, ut sancius in alea, et primaria, ac fluxus in chartis. Alii fortunæ artem ludendi adjungunt, ut in alea fritilli ludi in chartis, taro ulcus, triumphus, et similis. Cum ergo necesse sit ludos constare fortuna tantum, vel fortuna et arte, et utrumque genus ex apertis, aut occultis, manifestum est, quòd ludorum, qui fortuna constant, et non robore vel agilitate corporis quatuor sunt prima genera.

Cap. XXIII. *De Ludis Chartarum, in quibus Industriæ locus est.*

Cum ergo in hujusmodi exerceamus industriam in re incognita, necesse est, ut memoria earum quas deposuimus, aut teximus, aut reliquimus, aliquid possit, in quibusdam autem plurimum ut in Trapola, veneto ludo. Hoc eximuntur tria, quatuor, quinque, et sex puncta. In quatuor generibus sunt sexdecim, reliquuntur triginta sex. Dantur quinque post quatuor; in duobus lusoribus sunt decem octo chartæ totidem in cumulo reliquuntur; si primo placent retinet, et si secundo displicent, mutat, et novem primas recipit superiores in cumulo; si placent, et ipse suas retinet; si non commutat cum secundis cumulis; vides igitur quantum possit memoria, judicio, scientia cavendi dolos, et securitate debita. Plures ergo dum satis bene memorantur, non satis vitant caute dolos collusoris, aut non prudenter ludunt, aut timidè nimis, vel quasi Iracunde. Propterea cum in Sacchense oppidum, me contulissem hoc ludo onirum in modum delectabar; ex quo omnis boni initium habui. Namque industria effeci, ut omnium chartarum, quas deposuissem, memor semper essem. Ars vero in ludendo plurimum valet. Nam-

que ultimam chartam, qui obtinet, sex habet puncta si eadem binarius sit, valet 26. sex quoniam in ultimo : Decem quia cum sit minima, nisi sit sola, non potest non vinci: in ultimo verò duplicatur, ideo valet viginti, cui addito sex, valet vigniti sex ; si bis hoc contingat, scilicet, ut penultima sit binarius, et ultima valent 52. scilicet singulæ 26. sin autem tres binarii valent 78. ter scilicet multiplicato 26. ut sint ultima penultima, ante penultima omnes binarii sunt, qui velint valere centum, et quatuor duplicato 52. sed non est rectum, sic enim oporteret, et ultima valerent 26. penultima cum ultima 78. et antepenultima cum reliquiis duabus 234. quod nemo admittit, istius modi tamen constant consuetudine, aut pactis, quem admodum, et quòd binarius, si sit prima ut etiam in reliquis, nec vincatur, quoniam eo genere chartarum careat collusor decem valet, apud aliquos tamen valet 12. Pedes valet puncta tria. Regina, vel equus, quatuor, Rex quinque, punctum unum vocant lunetam æque supremum in suo genere, vicitque Regem, et omnes alias chartas, valet sex, tres lunetæ ante ludum valent 12. tres binarii 10. tres Reges, aut Equi, vel Reginæ, vel Pedites sex, nec oportet, nisi in lunetis dicere, quales sint; sed cum binario omnes nomine figurarum appellantur. Oportet autem tres esse similes et unius generis, ut tres binarii, vel tres Reges, nec est necesse, ut lunetas, vel figuras ab initio ludi appellemus, sed solum, antequam ullam ex illis tribus delegamus, aut ludamus, vel ludendo, dum non collegerimus illarum ullam; si quis omnes chartas obtineat, cucum vocant duplicaturque totus numerus. Hanc igitur Chartarum memoriam, cum ad verbi unius scientiam traduxissem ex illo didici etiam multas res, hoc modo unius verbi continere. Inde excolendo inventum totam unam lectionem, et quæ in ea continerentur. Post etiam illa inveniri et ex autoribus derivare. Unde modus ille ex temporanæ profitendi. Sed revertor ad Chartarum lusum, nam hoc genus ludi est artificiosissimum, cum in certa re, et vi naturæ consisteret, omisi exercitationem illius divinationis multis ex causis. Primum enim me statim contuli Patavium, inde in Saccense oppidum, atque ita occasio sublata illius ludi; nam ea sors non habet locum, ubi ludo industria commiscetur. Deinde quòd timerem, ne nimis fidendo me everteret. Præterea dicebam si ex demone est fallax, est et contra legem, si fortuita stultum est illi fidere. Abhorrebam etiam à ludi genere damnato legibus. Præterea stultum existimavi, cum possem locupletiore conditione, securiore scilicet, et ex naturali ratione pendente certare velle tam absurdè inniti.

Cap. XXIV. *De differentia Ludi Chartarum à Ludo Aleæ.*

Differunt ludi chartarum a ludis Aleæ, in quibus industria locum habet, quod Alea de futuro judicium fert, et magis licet de alieno successu, tamen etiam de proprio, Chartarum autem ludi de præsentibus, et alienis solum judicium requirunt. At de præsentibus conjectari, prudentis est magis viri, et humana sapientis; de futuris autem quamquam sit alia ratio conjecturæ, non quod futura sint, sed cui potius jure innitendum sit, est tamen divini potius hominis, aut insani, nam melancolici divinare solent. Et enim in Alea nil habes certum signum, sed omnia planè in pura fortuna reposita sunt, si alea æqualis sit. Quicquid autem est in ea præter levem conjecturam et rationes superius

dictas ad temeritatem referri debet. At in chartis, quas posuit vultus Chartarum à tergo agnitio, milleque aliæ agnitiones naturales, et dignæ, prudenti viro habentur. Unde inter omnes ludos subtilitate præcedit, is, qui latrunculus fit. Sed fortunæ arbitrio parum, aut nihil subjacet, utilitate armorum, salubritate pilæ: lepore: trapolæ: pulchritudine inventi, et modorum primaria, pecuniarum magnitudine sanctius, concertatione assiduæ, quæ parum fatigat fritillus, extractione temporis Tarochi. Dignitate cricones, prudentia et vitæ humanæ Imitatione Triumphi. Decet igitur sapientem chartis ludere, quàm alea et triumphis potius, quam aliis ludis, constat ergo, (sed in usu non est) quòd medius quidam est modus ludendi Chartis apertis, proximior ferme latrunculorum ludo. Et finem habet cum nil amplius expectet; sed quilibet ludus sibi finem facit. Atque is, est qui fit novem cum chartis, (nam hic est numerus satis Idoneus) ac mediocris inter magnum, et parvum ad ludendum, detectis, inde certare, ut solent cum occultis. Demiror autem cum hic sit ingeniosissimus, solum neglectum à tot gentibus esse.

Cap. XXV. *De Ludis Chartarum.*

Ludi igitur Chartarum, non in expectatione futurorum sunt nisi cum commutantur. Suntque earum plura genera, sed numerare non licet: nam quòd dixit Horatius de Verbis, idem de ludis dicere convenit: satis erit eos distinguere generibus suis, ac speciebus tum simplicibus, tum compositis. Prima igitur genera sunt lusus arbitrio solius fortunæ, et cum industria. Fortunæ solius sunt primaria fluxus, qui fit cum tribus Chartis: Gallicus est pulcherrimus, nam unum cum figura, vel cum binario efficit 21. qui summas est punctus apud reliquas, plerasquæ gentes. Sed apud Gallos, si adsit aliud unum fiunt viginti unum cum dimidio. Sed tria puncta superant etiam fluxum et est supremum, et pro fluxu, et puncto haberi potest. Viginti etiam cum uno puncto, alia in charta efficit viginti cum dimidio, et ita habent viginti, viginti cum dimidio, viginti unum, et viginti unum cum dimidio, et viginti duo, qui (ut dixi) superior est fluxui. Post est fluxada: silerium, id est, ego habeo, quadriginta, et triginta unum. Baseta ludus desperatorum, Cricones, fortunæ, et industria, Triumphi, Triumfeti, Sequentiæ, sequentinum Tarochi, centum, Trapola, Romfa, Scaltara, tum alii multi. Alia divisio est penè differentias proprias, quoniam ludi quidam tetinent æstimationem chartarum, [alii non retinent, sed mutant. Alii numero chartarum, alii æstimatione,] alii consequentibus, alii certa ratione loci, seu ordinis, aut proprietate conficiunt numerum, quò Superiores, aut Inferiores evadunt.

N° XI.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE COMPLETE GAMESTER," (BY CHARLES COTTON, ESQ.) LONDON 1680, 8°.

Of Gaming in general, or an Ordinary described.

GAMING is an enchanting *witchery*, gotten betwixt *idleness* and *avarice:* an itching disease, that makes some scratch the head, whilst others, as if they were bitten by a *tarantula*, are laughing themselves to death: or lastly, it is a paralytical distemper, which seizing the arm the man cannot choose but shake his elbow. It hath this ill property above all other vices, that it renders a man incapable of prosecuting any serious action, and makes him always unsatisfied with his own condition; he is either lifted up to the top of mad joy with success, or plunged to the bottom of despair by misfortune, always in extremes, always in a storm; this minute the gamester's countenance is so serene and calm, that one would think nothing could disturb it, and the next minute so stormy and tempestuous that it threatens destruction to itself and others; and as he is transported with joy when he wins, so losing he is tost upon the billows of a high swelling passion, till he hath lost sight both of sense and reason.

I have seen some dogs bite the stones which boys have thrown at them, not regarding whence they were flung; so I have seen a losing gamester greedily gnawing the innocent box, and sometimes tearing it to pieces as an accessary to his *throwing* out; nor must the dice go unpunished for not running his *chance*, and therefore in rage are thrown on the ground to be kicked to and fro by every body; and at last looked upon no other than the fit companions of every saucy *skip-jack*.

Then fresh dice are called for, as thinking they will prove more kind than the former, or as if they believed that some were good natured, others bad, and that every bale produced a different disposition. If these run cross too, the box-keeper shall not go without a horrid execration, if for nothing else but that he looked strictly to the cast, it may be conceiving that his very eyes were capable of making them turn to his disadvantage. This restless man (the miserable gamester) is the proper subject of every man's pity. Restless I call him, because (such is the itch of play) either winning or losing he can never rest satisfied; if he wins he thinks to win more, if he loses he hopes to recover: to this man's condition the saying of *Hannibal* to *Marcellus* may be fitly applied, that *nec bonam, nec malam fortunam ferre potest*, he could not be quiet either conqueror or conquered. Thus have I heard of some who with five pounds have won four hundred pounds in one night, and the next night have lost it to a sum not half so much; others

who have lost their estates and won them again with addition, yet could not be quiet till they lost them irrecoverably.

And therefore fitly was that question propounded, *whether men in ships at sea were to be accounted among the living or the dead, because there were but few inches betwixt them and drowning.* The same *quære* may be made of great *gamesters*, though their estates be never so considerable, whether they are to be esteemed poor or rich, since there are but a few *casts* at *dice* betwixt a rich man (in that circumstance) and a beggar.

Now since speculation will not be convincing, unless we shew somewhat of the modern practice, we must therefore lay our *scene* at an *ordinary*, and proceed to action: Where note, an *ordinary* is a handsome house, where every day, about the hour of twelve, a good dinner is prepared by way of *ordinary*, composed of variety of dishes, in season, well drest, with all other accommodations fit for that purpose, whereby many gentlemen of great estates and good repute, make this place their resort, who after dinner play awhile for recreation, both moderately and commonly, without deserving reproof: but here is the mischief, the best wheat will have tares growing amongst it, rooks and daws will sometimes be in the company of pigeons; nor can real gentlemen now adays so seclude themselves from the society of such as are pretendedly so, but that they oftentimes mix company, being much of the same colour and feather, and by the eye undistinguishable.

It is reported of the *polypus* (a fish), that it will conform itself to the colour of what is nearest, for security and advantage: and so do these pretended gentlemen attire themselves in what is both genteel and fashionable, that under that disguise they may with more facility wriggle themselves into the society of such worthy persons, out of whom they intend to squeeze some sums of monies by *cards*, *dice*, or otherways.

These rooks can do little harm in the day time at an *ordinary*, being forced to play upon the *square*, although now and then they make an advantage, when the *box-keeper goes with him*, and then the knave and rascal will violate his trust for profit, and lend him (when he sees good) a *tickler* shall do his business; but if discovered, the box-keeper ought to be soundly kicked for his pains: such practices, and sometimes the box-keeper's connivances are so much used of late, that there is nothing near that fair play in an *ordinary* as formerly.

The day being shut in, you may properly compare this place to those countries which lay far in the north, where it is as clear at midnight as at noon-day: and though it is a house of sin, yet you cannot call it a house of darkness, for the candles never go out till morning, unless the sudden fury of a losing gamester make them extinct.

This is the time (when ravenous beasts usually seek their prey) wherein come shoals of *huffs*, *hectors*, *setters*, *gilts*, *pads*, *biters*, *divers*, *lifters*, *filers*, *budgies*, *droppers*, *cross-biters*, *&c.* and these may all pass under the general and common appellation of *rooks*. And in this particular, an *ordinary* serves as a *nursery* for *Tyburn*; for if any one will put himself to the trouble of observation, he shall find, that there is seldom a year

wherein there are not some of this gang hanged as *precious jewels* in the ear of *Tyburn:* look back and you will find a great many gone already, and God knows how many are to follow.

These *rooks* are in continual motion, walking from one table to another, till they can discover some inexperienced young gentleman, cashier or apprentice, that is come to this *school of virtue,* being unskilled in the quibbles and devices there practised; these they call *lambs* or *colls:* then do the *rooks* (more properly called *wolves*) strive who shall fasten on him first, following him close, and engaging him in some advantageous bets, and at length worries him, that is, gets all his money, and then the *rooks* (rogues I should have said) laugh and grin, saying *the lamb is bitten.*

Some of these *rooks* will be very importunate to borrow money of you without any intention to pay you; or to go with you seven to twelve, half a crown or more, whereby without a very great chance (ten to one or more) he is sure to win: if you are sensible hereof, and refuse his proposition, they will take it so ill, that if you have not an especial care they will pick your pocket, nim your gold or silver buttons off your cloak or coat; or it may be draw your silver-hilted sword out of your belt without discovery, especially if you are eager upon your cast, which is done thus; the silver buttons are strung, or run upon cat's guts fastened at the upper and nether end; now by ripping both ends very ingeniously (as they call it) give it the gentle pull, and so rub off with the buttons; and if your cloak be loose, it is ten to one they have it.

But that which will most provoke (in my opinion) any man's rage to a just satisfaction, is their throwing many times at a good sum with a *dry fist* (as they call it); that is, if they *nick* you, it is theirs; if they lose, they owe you so much, with many other quillets: some I have known so abominably impudent, that they would snatch up the stakes, and thereupon instantly draw, saying, if you will have your money you must fight for it; for he is a gentleman and will not want: however, if you will be patient, he will pay you another time. If you are so tame to take this, go no more to the ordinary; for then the whole gang will be ever and anon watching an opportunity to make a *mouth* of you in the like nature. If you nick them, it is odds if they wait not your coming out at night and beat you: I could produce you an hundred examples in this kind, but they will rarely adventure on the attempt, unless they are backed with some *bully-huffs,* and *bully-rooks,* with others whose fortunes are as desperate as their own. We need no other testimony to confirm the danger of associating with these anthropo-phagi or man-eaters, than *Lincoln's*-Inn-Fields, whilst *Speering's Ordinary* was kept in Bell-yard, and that you need not want a pair of witnesses for the proof thereof, take in also *Covent-Garden.*

Neither is the house itself to be exempted; every night almost some one or other, who either heated with wine, or made choleric with the loss of his money, raises a quarrel, swords are drawn, box and candlesticks thrown at one another's head, tables overthrown, and all the house in such a garboyl, that it is the perfect type of hell. Happy

is the man now that can make the frame of a table or chimney corner his sanctuary; and if any are so fortunate to get to the stair-head, they will rather hazard the breaking of their own necks than have their souls pushed out of their bodies in the dark by they know not whom.

I once observed one of the *desperadoes* of the town (being half drunk) to press a gentleman very much (at play) to lend him a crown: the gentleman refused him several times, yet still the borrower persisted, and holding his head somewhat too near the *caster's* elbow, it chanced to hit his nose; the other thinking it to be affront enough to be denied the loan of money without this slight touch of the nose, drew, and stepping back (unawares to the gentleman) made a full pass at him, intending to have run him through the body; but his drunkenness misguided his hand so that he ran him only through the arm. This put the house into so great a confusion and fright, that some fled, thinking the gentleman slain. This wicked miscreant thought not this sufficient, but tripping up his heels, pinned him, as he thought, to the floor; and after this, takes the gentleman's silver sword, leaving his in the wound, and with a *grand-jury* of *dammees* (which may hereafter find him guilty at the *Great Tribunal*) bid all stand off if they loved their lives, and so went clear off with sword and liberty; but was notwithstanding (the gentleman recovering) compelled to make what satisfaction he was capable of making, besides a long imprisonment, and was not long abroad before he was apprehended for *burglary*, committed, condemned, and justly executed.

——————— *Fatebere tandem*
Nec surdum, nec tiressam quenquam esse deorum.

But to proceed on as to play: late at night when the company grows thin, and your eyes dim with watching, false dice are frequently put upon the ignorant, or they are otherwise cheated by *topping*, *slurring*, *stabbing*, &c. and if you be not careful and vigilant, the box-keeper shall score you up double or treble boxes, and though you have lost your money, dun you as severely for it, as if it were the justest debt in the world.

The more subtle and gentler sort of *rooks* (as aforesaid) you shall not distinguish by their outward demeanour from persons of condition; these will sit by a whole evening, and observe who wins: if the *winner* be *bubleable*, they will insinuate themselves into his company by applauding his success, advising him to leave off whilst he is well; and lastly, by civilly inviting him to drink a glass of wine, where having well warmed themselves to make him more than half drunk, they wheedle him to play; to which if he condescend, he shall quickly have no money left him in his pocket, unless perchance a crown the rooking-winner lent him in courtesy to bear his charges homewards.

This they do by false dice, as high-fullams 4, 5, 6. Low-fullams 1, 2, 3. By bristle-dice, which are fitted for their purpose by sticking a hog's-bristle so in the corners, or otherwise in the dice, that they shall run high or low as they please; this bristle must be strong and short, by which means the bristle bending, it will not lie on that side, but will be tript over; and this is the newest way of making a high or low *fullam:* the old

ways are by drilling them and loading them with quicksilver; but that cheat may be easily discovered by their weight, or holding two corners between your forefinger and thumb: if holding them so gently between your fingers they turn, you may then conclude them false; or you may try their falsehood otherwise by breaking or splitting them: others have made them by filing and rounding; but all these ways fall short of the art of those who make them: some whereof are so admirably skilful in making a bale of dice to run what you would have them, that your gamesters think they never give enough for their purchase if they prove right. They are sold in many places about the town; price current (by the help of a friend) eight shillings, whereas an ordinary bale is sold for sixpence; for my part I shall tell you plainly, I would have those bales of false dice to be sold at the price of the ears of such destructive knaves that made them.

Another way the *rook* hath to cheat, is first by *palming*, that is, he puts one dye into the box, and keeps the other in the hollow of his little finger, which noting what is uppermost when he takes him up, the same shall be when he throws the other dye, which runs doubtfully any cast. Observe this, that the bottom and top of all dice are seven, so that if it be 4 above, it must be a 3 at bottom; so 5 and 2. 6 and 1. Secondly, by *topping*, and that is when they take up both dice and seem to put them in the box, and shaking the box, you would think them both there, by reason of the ratling occasioned with the screwing of the box, whereas one of them is at the top of the box between his two forefingers, or secured by thrusting a forefinger into the box. Thirdly, by *slurring*, that is, by taking up your dice as you will have them advantageously lie in your hand, placing the one a-top the other, not caring if the uppermost run a millstone (as they use to say) if the undermost run without turning, and therefore a smooth table is altogether requisite for this purpose: on a rugged rough board it is a hard matter to be done, whereas on a smooth table (the best are rubbed over with bees-wax, to fill up all chinks and crevices) it is usual for some to slur a dye two yards or more without turning. Fourthly, by *knapping*, that is, when you strike a dye dead that it shall not stir: this is best done within the tables; where note there is no securing but of one dye, although there are some who boast of securing both. I have seen some so dexterous at knapping, that they have done it through the handle of a quart pot, or over a candle and candlestick: but that which I most admired, was throwing through the same less than Ames ace with two dice upon a groat held in the left hand on the one side of the handle a foot distance, and the dice thrown with the right hand on the other.

Lastly, by *stabbing*, that is, having a smooth box, and small in the bottom, you drop in both your dice in such manner as you would have them sticking therein by reason of its narrowness, the dice lying one upon another; so that turning up the box, the dice never tumble; if a smooth box, if true, but little; by which means you have bottoms according to the tops you put in; for example, if you put in your dice so that two fives or two fours lie a-top, you have in the bottom turned up two two's, or two treys; so if six and an ace a-top, a six and an ace at bottom.

Now if the gentleman be past that class of ignoramuses, then they effect their purpose by cross-biting, or some other dexterity, of which they have all variety imaginable. A friend of mine wondering at the many slights a noted gamester had to deceive, and how neatly and undiscoverably he managed his tricks, wondering withal he could not do the like himself, since he had the same theory of them all, and knew how they were done: 'O young man,' replied the gamester, 'there is nothing to be attained without pains; wherefore had you been as laborious as myself in the practice hereof, and had sweated at it as many cold winter mornings in your shirt as I have done in mine, undoubtedly you would have arrived at the same perfection.'

Here you must observe, that if these *rooks* think they have met with a sure bubble, they will purposely lose some small sum at first, that they may engage him the more freely to bleed (as they call it), which may be at the second, if not beware of the third meeting, which under the notion of being very merry with wine and good cheer, they will make him pay for the roast.

Consider the further inconveniencies of gaming as they are ranked under these heads.

First, if the house find you free to the box and a constant *caster*, you shall be treated with suppers at night, and a cawdle in the morning, and have the honour to be stiled a lover of the house, whilst your money lasts, which certainly cannot be long; for here you shall be quickly destroyed under pretence of kindness, as men were by the *lamia* of old; which you may easily gather if from no other consideration than this; that I have seen three persons sit down at twelve penny *in and in*, and each draw forty shillings apiece in less than three hours, the box hath had three pound, and all the three gamesters have been losers.

Secondly, consider how many persons have been ruined by play. I could nominate a great many; some who have had great estates have lost them, others having good employments have been forced to desert them and hide themselves from their creditors in some foreign plantation by reason of those great debts they had contracted through play.

Thirdly, this course of life shall make you liable to so many affronts and manifold vexations, as in time may breed distraction. Thus a young fellow not many years since, had by strange fortune run up a very small sum to a thousand pounds, and thereupon put himself into a garb accordingly; but not knowing when he was well, fell to play again; fortune turned, he lost all, ran mad, and so died.

Fourthly, is it not extreme folly for a man that hath a competent estate, to play whether he or another man shall enjoy it; and if his estate be small, then to hazard even the loss of that, and reduce himself to absolute beggary? I think it madness in the highest degree. Besides, it hath been generally observed that the loss of one hundred pounds shall do you more prejudice in disquieting your mind, than the gain of two hundred pounds shall do you good, were you sure to keep it.

Lastly, consider not only your loss of time, which is invaluable, *Nulla major est jac-*

tura quam temporis amissio, but the damage also the very watching brings to your health, and in particular to the eyes, confirmed by this distich:

Allia, Vina, Venus, Fumus, Faba, Lumen & Ignis,
Ista nocent oculis, sed vigilare magis.

ENGLISH RUFF, AND HONOURS, AND WHIST.

Ruff and *Honours (alias* slamm) and *Whist,* are games so commonly known in England in all parts thereof, that every child almost of eight years old hath a competent knowledge in that recreation, and therefore I am unwilling to speak any thing more of them than this, that there may be a great deal of art used in dealing and playing at these games, which differ very little one from the other.

In playing your cards you must have recourse altogether to your own judgment or discretion, still making the best of a bad market; and though you have but mean cards in your own hand, yet you may play them so suitable to those in your partner's hand, that he may either trump them, or play the best of that suit on the board.

You ought to have a special eye to what cards are played out, that you may know by that means either what to play if you lead, or how to trump securely and advantageously. Reneging or renouncing, that is, not following suit, when you have it in your hand, is very foul play, and he that doth it ought to forfeit one, or the game upon a game, and he that loseth dealing loseth one, or a trick, as you make it.

At Ruff and Honours, by some called Slamm, you have in the pack all the deuces, and the reason is, because four playing having dealt twelve apiece, there are four left for the stock, the uppermost whereof is turned up, and that is trumps; he that hath the ace of that, ruffs; that is, he takes in those four cards, and lays out four others in their lieu: the four honours are the ace, king, queen, and knave; he that hath three honours in his own hand, his partner not having the fourth sets up eight by cards, that is two tricks; if he hath all four, then sixteen, that is four tricks: it is all one if the two partners make them three or four between them, as if one had them. If the honours are equally divided amongst the gamesters of each side, then they say honours are split. If either side are at eight groats he hath the benefit of calling *can-ye,* if he hath two honours in his hand, and if the other answers *one,* the game is up, which is nine in all, but if he hath more than two he shews them, and then it is one and the same thing; but if he forgets to call after playing a trick, he loseth the advantage of can-ye for that deal.

All cards are of value as they are superior one to another, as a ten wins a nine if not trumps; so a queen, a knave in like manner; but the least trump will win the highest card of any other suit; where note the ace is the highest.

Whist is a game not much differing from this, only they put out the deuces and take in no stock; and is called whist from the silence that is to be observed in the play: they deal as before, playing four, two of a side, (some play at two handed, or three handed

whist; if three handed, always two strive to suppress and keep down the rising-man), I say they deal to each twelve apiece, and the trump is the bottom card. The manner of crafty playing, the number of the game nine, honours and dignity of other cards are all alike, and he that wins most tricks is most forward to win the set.

He that can by craft overlook his adversary's game hath a great advantage, for by that means he may partly know what to play securely; or if he can have some petty glimpse of his partner's hand. There is a way by winking, or the fingers, to discover to their partners what honours they have, as by the wink of one eye, or putting one finger on the nose or table, it signifies one honour, shutting both the eyes, two; placing three fingers or four on the table, three or four honours. They have several ways of securing an honour or more in the bottom when they deal, either to their partners or selves; if to their partner they place in the second lift next the top, 1, 2, 3, or four aces, or court cards all of a suit, according as they could get them together in the former deal, and place a card of the same suit in the bottom; when the cards are cut they must use their hand so dexterously as not to put the top in the bottom, but nimbly place where it was before.

If they would secure honours to themselves when dealing, they then place so many as they can get upon their lap or other place undiscerned, and after the cards are cut, then clap them very neatly under. But the cleanliest rooking way is by the breef, that is, take a pack of cards and open them; then take out all the honours, that is, as aforesaid, the four aces, the four kings, &c. then take the rest and cut a little from the edges of them all alike, by which means the honours will be broader than the rest, so that when your adversary cuts to you, you are certain of an honour; when you cut to your adversary cut at the ends, and then it is a chance if you cut him an honour, because the cards at the ends are all of a length: thus you may make breefs endways as well as sideways.

There are a sort of cunning fellows about this city, who before they go to play will plant half a dozen of these packs (nay sometimes half a score) in the hands of a drawer, who to avoid being suspected will call to their confederate drawer for a fresh pack of cards, who brings them as from a shop new, and some of these packs shall be so finely marked, whereby the gamester shall plainly and certainly know every card therein contained by the outside, although the best of other eyes shall not discern where any mark was made at all; and this done with that variety that every card of every suit shall have a different distinguishable mark.

Some have a way to slick with a slick-stone all the honours very smooth, by which means he will be sure to cut his partner an honour, and so his partner to him again; and that is done by laying a fore-finger on the top indifferent hard, and giving a slurring jerk to the rest, which will slip off from the slicked card.

It is impossible to shew you all the cheats of this game, since your cunning gamester is always studying new inventions to deceive the ignorant.

FRENCH RUFF.

At *French Ruff* you must lift for deal, most or least carries it according to the agreement of the gamesters.

You may play either two, four, or six of a side, dealing to each five apiece, either two first at a time, or three, according to pleasure, and he that deals turns up trump; the king is the highest card at trumps, and so it is highest in all other cards that are not trumps, the queen is next, the knave next, and next to that the ace, and all other cards follow in pre-eminency according to the number of the pips, but all small trumps win the highest of any other suit.

Having turned up trumps, he that hath the ace must take the ace turned up, and all other trumps which immediately follow that, if so agreed among the gamesters, laying out so many cards as he took up in lieu thereof.

After this they play: to win two tricks signifies nothing, to win three or four wins but one, but to win five is the winning of five.

If you play at *forsat* (that is the rigour of the play) he that deals wrong loseth one and his deal. You are bound to follow suit, and if you renounce or renege, you lose the whole game, if you so make it; otherwise but one or two, according to agreement.

He that plays a card that is trumped by the follower, if the next player hath none of the former suit he must trump it again, although he hath never a trump in his hand that can win the former trump, and so it must pass to the last player.

All the players round are bound to win the highest trump played if they can. Here note, that he who playeth before his turn loseth one, unless it be the last card of all.

FIVE CARDS.

Five Cards is an Irish game, and is as much played in that kingdom, and that for considerable sums of money, as *All-fours* is played in Kent, but there is little analogy between them.

There are but two can play at it, and there are dealt five cards apiece. The least of the black, and the most of the red wins. The ace of diamonds is the worst of the whole pack, unless it prove to be trump.

The five fingers (alias five of trumps) is the best card in the pack, the ace of hearts is next to that, and the next is the ace of trumps, then the knave, and the rest of the cards are best according to their value in pips, or as they are trumps.

Before you play ask whether he will *five it*; if he speaks affirmatively turn up the next card of the pack under that first turned up, and that must be trumps; if not, play it out: he that wins most cards wins five, but he that wins all, wins ten.

Observe, that the ace of hearts wins the ace of trumps, and the five fingers not only wins the ace of trumps, but also all other cards whatever.

OF A GAME CALLED COSTLY COLOURS.

This game is to be played out only by two persons, of which the eldest is to play first as in other games. You must deal off three apiece, and turn up the next card following; then the eldest is to take his choice whether he will *mogg* (that is change a card or no), and whosoever refuseth is to give the other one chalk or hole, of which generally threescore and one makes the game. Then must the eldest play, and the other if he can must make it up fifteen, for which he shall set up as many holes or chalks as there are cards upon the table; so likewise for five and twenty, and also as many cards as are played to make up thirty, no more nor less; so many chalks may be set up who played last, to make up one and thirty, and if one and thirty be not made, then he that played last and is nearest one and thirty without making out must set up one, which is called setting up one for the latter.

This being done, the eldest must show how many chalks he hath in his hand to set up, and after him the youngest, which they must reckon in this manner, taking notice both of the colour and number of pips upon the card turned up as those in their hands still, reckoning as many for all the fifteen and five and twenty as there go cards to make the number; and if you have it by chance in your hand, and with the card turned up one and thirty, then you must set up four for that: you must also set up if you have them in your hands, or can make them so in the card turned up as followeth, two for a pair, be they either coat-cards, or others; two for a knave, and if a knave of the same colour and suit of the card turned up, then you must set up four; and so for a deuce four, if it be of the same colour turned up: if you have three of a sort, either three fours, five sixes, or coat-cards, you must set up nine, and this is called a pair-royal; now if they are all either hearts, diamonds, or the like, then you must set up six for *Costly Colours*. If you have three of a colour, you can reckon but two for colours.

Whosoever dealt, if he turned up either deuce or knave, he must set up four for it; as for example, imagine you had dealt your adversary three cards, viz. the five of hearts, four of hearts, and eight of hearts; to yourself the deuce of hearts, seven of clubs, and nine of hearts. Lastly, you turn up a card, which is the knave of hearts, for which you must set up four; then because he will not ask you to change one, he gives you one, which you must set up, and then he plays; suppose it be his five of hearts, you then play your seven of clubs, which makes twelve; then he plays his eight of hearts, which makes twenty; then you play your nine of hearts, which makes twenty-nine, and because he cannot come in with his five of hearts, you must play your deuce of hearts, which makes you one and thirty. For your five you must set up five, then he must set up what he hath in his hand, which you will find to be but six, for he hath nothing in his hand but *costly colours*. Then must you set up your games, which first are two, for your nine of clubs and nine of hearts, which make fifteen, then that fifteen and the knave turned up makes five and twenty, for which set up three; then for your deuce of hearts, which is the right, set up four, and three for colours, because you have

three of a sort in your hand with that turned up; now these with the five you got in playing for thirty-one makes you this deal, with the knave turned up, and the cards in your hand, just twenty. Many other examples I might give you, but that it is needless, since this one is sufficient to direct you in all others. And thus much for *costly colours.*

BONE-ACE.

This game you may look on as trivial and very inconsiderable, and so it is by reason of the little variety therein contained; but because I have seen ladies and persons of quality have played at it for their diversion, I will briefly describe it, and the rather because it is a licking game for money.

There are seven or eight (or as many as the cards will permit) play at it at one time. In the lifting for dealing the least deals, which is a great disadvantage; for that makes the dealer youngest hand.

The dealer deals out two to the first hand, and turns up the third, and so goes on to the next, to the third, fourth, fifth, &c. He that hath the biggest card carries the bone, that is one half of the stake, the other remaining for the game; now if there be three kings, three queens, three tens, &c. turned up, the eldest hand wins it. Here note that the ace of diamonds is *Bone-Ace,* and wins all other cards whatever: thus much for the bone; afterwards the nearest to one and thirty wins the game, and he that turns up or draws to one and thirty wins it immediately.

OF PUTT AND THE HIGH-GAME.

Putt is the ordinary rooking game of every place, and seems by the few cards that are dealt to have no great difficulty in the play, but I am sure there is much craft and cunning in it; of which I shall show as much as I understand.

If you play at two-handed Putt (or if you please you may play at three hands) the best putt-card deals. Having shuffled the cards, the adversary cuts them, then the dealer deals one to his antagonist, and another to himself till they have three apiece: five up or a putt is commonly the game. The eldest if he hath a good game, and thinks it better than his adversary's, putts to him; if the other will not, or dare not see him, he then wins one, but if he will see him they play it out, and he that wins two tricks, or all three, wins the whole set; but if each win a trick, and the third tyed, neither win, because it is trick and tye.

Sometimes they play without putting, and then the winner is he that wins most tricks. Here note that in your playing keep up your cards very close; for the least discovery of any one of them is a great advantage to him that sees it.

This game consists very much in daring; for a right gamester will putt boldly upon very bad cards sometimes, as upon a five, seven, and a nine; the other thinking there are good cards in his adversary's hand, having very indifferent ones in his own, dares uot

see him, and so by going to stock loseth one. Here note that he that once hath the confidence to putt on bad cards cannot recall his putting, by which means he frequently pays for his bravado.

The best putt-cards are first the trey, next the deuce, then the ace; the rest follow in pre-eminence thus: the king, the queen, the knave, the ten, and so onwards to the four, which is the meanest card at putt.

Some of the cheats at putt are done after this manner:

First, for cutting to be sure of a good putt-card, they use the bent, the slick, and the breef; the bent is a card bended in play which you cut, the slick is when beforehand the gamester takes a pack of cards, and with a slick-stone smooths all the putt-cards, that when he comes to cut to his adversary with his fore-finger above and his thumb about the middle, he slides the rest of the cards off that which was slicked, which is done infallibly with much facility; but in this there is required neatness and dexterity for fear of discovery, and then your confidence in this contrivance will be vain and of no effect.

Lastly, the breef in cutting is very advantageous to him that cuts, and it is thus done: the cheat provides beforehand a pack of cards, whereof some are broader than others; under some of which he plants in play some good putt-cards, which, though they shuffle never so much, they shall rarely separate them; by which means he that cuts (laying his fingers on the broad card) hath surely dealt him a putt-card.

In dealing these rooks have a trick they call the *spurr*, and that is, as good cards come into their hand that they may know them again by the outside (and so discover the strength or weakness of their adversary's game) I say somewhere on the outside they give them a gentle touch with their nail.

Now when they intend to bleed a *coll* to some purpose whom they have set before, they always fix half a score packs of cards before (as I have related in *whist*) by slicking them or spurring them, that is, giving them such marks that they shall certainly know every card in the pack, and consequently every card that is in his adversary's hand, an advantage that cannot well be greater.

But if they are not furnished with such cards, and cannot accomplish their ends by the former indirect means without palpable discovery, then they have accomplices who standing by the innocent *coll* look over his game, and discovers what it is to his adversary: and to strengthen their interest by cheating, they frequently carry about them treys, deuces, aces, &c. in their pockets, which they use as need requires, or if not, they will steal them out of the pack whilst they are playing, which is the securest way and freest from discovery.

Lastly, they have one most egregious piece of roguery more, and that is playing the *high-game* at *putt*; and this is to be done but once at a set meeting; and therefore on this depends the absolute overthrow of the *coll* that plays, or the *coll* that is a stander-by.

This *high game* at *putt* is thus performed: the rook whilst playing singles out the deuces and treys for the last game, and placeth them thus in order, hiding them in his lap or other covert, first a deuce, then a trey, next a deuce, then a trey, then a trey

and a trey; now stooping letting fall a card or some other way, as he shall think fit, he claps these cards faced at the bottom, having shuffled the cards before, and bids his adversary cut, which he nimbly and neatly with both his hands joins the divided cards, and then the bottom faced cards are upwards, and then he deals; and lest there should be a discovery made of the facing, he palms them as much as he can, nimbly passing the last card.

Now do the gamesters smile at the goodness of each other's game; one shows his to one, the other his to another, and cries Who would not putt at such cards? the other in as brisk a tone, says, Come if you dare. What will you lay of the game, says the rook? What you dare, says the *coll*; then pausing a while the rook seems to consult with his friends, who cry, they know not what to think on it. Five pound, cries a rooking confederate on this gentleman's side; the *coll* encouraged hereby, cries Ten pound more: and thus the rook holds him in play till there be a good sum of money on the board; then answers the putt of the now ruined *cully*. They now play; the *coll* begins with a deuce, the rook wins that with a trey; the rook then plays a deuce, and the *coll* wins it with his trey; then he plays his deuce, which is won with a trey; thus the rook wins the day. This game may be played otherways according to fancy: let these and the former cheats be a sufficient warning.

WIT AND REASON, A GAME SO CALLED.

Wit and *Reason* is a game which seems very easy at first to the learner, but in his practice and observation shall find it otherwise. It is a game something like one and thirty, and is played after this manner.

Two playing together, the one hath all the red cards, and the other hath the black: then they turned up cross or pile who shall lead; for the leader hath a great advantage over the other, as shall be demonstrated.

You are not to play a ten first; for if you do you shall certainly lose; for one and thirty being the game, he that first comes to it wins; now should the leader play a ten the follower will play another ten, that makes twenty; let the leader then play any thing next, the follower will be sure to make it up one and thirty.

He that hath the lead if he play a nine may certainly win the game, if he look about him; ever remembering to get first to twenty, without spending two of one sort, as two deuces, two treys, two quarters, &c. otherwise you will lose: As for example, you play a nine first, your adversary plays a deuce that makes eleven, you then play a nine again, and that makes twenty; thus you have played out both your nines, wherefore your antagonist plays a deuce, now you can play no card but he wins; for if you play an eight (for you cannot come in with your ten) and you have never a nine, then he hath an ace for one and thirty; so if you play a seven, which makes nine and twenty, he hath a deuce remaining to make up one and thirty, and so you may observe in the rest of the cards.

Take this for a general rule, that you have a very great advantage in fetching out by play any two of a number, as aforesaid; as two fives, two sixes, two sevens, &c.

wherefore you must not play rashly, but with due consideration arithmetically grounded to make up a certain game of one and thirty. To conclude, he that hath the art of playing well at one and thirty without cards, that is by naming such a number at first, and prosecuting it by such addition of others, that your adversary cannot think of any number but what shall be your game; I say such a man is fittest to play at this game called *Wit and Reason.*

A PASTIME CALLED THE ART OF MEMORY.

This *Art of Memory* is a sport at which men may play for money, but it is most commonly the way to play the drunkard. It is best when many play at it; for with few it is no sport at all: for example, as many persons as do play, so many cards trebled must be thrown down on the table with their faces upwards, which every one must take notice of and endeavour to register them in his memory. Then the dealer must take them all up, and shuffling them, after cutting, deals to every one three apiece.

The first it may be calls for a king, which must be laid on the table with his face downwards by him that hath it in his hands; the next it may be calls for a ten of the spades, which must be laid down in like manner, and so it goes round; now if any one calls for what is already laid down, if they play for liquor, he must then drink a glass; if for money, he must then pay a farthing, halfpenny, or the like.

A GAME CALLED PLAIN-DEALING.

He that deals hath the advantage of this game; for if he turn up the ace of diamonds he cannot lose: to his adversary he delivers out nine and but three to himself; then are the cards played as at *whist,* the best of trumps or other cards wins, and but one to be gotten at a deal. I cannot commend this pastime for its ingenuity, and therefore only name it, because we treat of games in general.

A GAME CALLED QUEEN NAZAREEN.

There may as many play at it as the cards will allow of, five cards are dealt to every player. The queen of diamonds is *Queen Nazareen,* and he that hath it demands three apiece of every player. The knave of clubs is called knave knocher, and he that hath it challengeth two apiece. If women play among men, it is customary for knave knocher to kiss *Queen Nazareen.*

Lastly, he that lays down a king the last card that is played challengeth one, and begins again; and he that hath first played away his cards demands as many counters as there are cards in the hands of the rest.

LANTERLOO.

Lanterloo is a game may be played several ways, but I shall insist on none but two; the first way is thus.

Lift for dealing, and the best putt-card carries it; as many may play as the cards will permit, to whom must be dealt five apiece, and then turn up trump. Now if three, four, five, or six play, they may lay out the threes, fours, fives, sixes, and sevens, to the intent they may not be quickly looed; but if they would have the loos, come fast about then play with the whole pack.

Having dealt set up five scores or chalks; and then proceed forwards in your game.

He that is eldest hand hath the privilege of passing by the benefit thereof, that is, he hath the advantage of hearing what every one will say, and at last may play or not play according as he finds his game good or bad. If the eldest saith he passeth, the rest may chuse whether they will play or no.

You may play upon every card what you please, from a penny to a pound. Trumps as at whist are the best cards, all others in like manner take their precedency from the highest to the lowest.

You must not revoke, if you do you pay all on the table. If you play and are looed (that is, win never a trick) you must lay down to the stock so much for your five cards as you played upon every one of them.

Every deal rub off a score, and for every trick you win set up a score by you till the first scores are out, to remember you how many tricks you have won in the several deals in the game.

All the chalks for the game being rubbed out, tell your own scores, and for so many scores or tricks which you have won, so much as they were valued at in the game so much you must take from the stock; thus must every one do according to the number of tricks he hath won.

Here note, that he who hath five cards of a suit in his hand loos all the gamesters then playing, be they never so many, and sweeps the board; if there be two loos he that is eldest hand hath the advantage.

As there is cheating (as they say) in all trades, so more particularly intolerable in gaming; as in this for example, if one of the gamesters have four of a suit and he want a fifth, he may for that fifth make an exchange out of his own pocket if he be skilled in the cleanly art of conveyance; if that fail, some make use of a friend, who never fails to do him that kind office and favour. There are other cheats to be performed, which I shall omit, since it is not my business to teach you how to cheat, but so to play as not to be cheated.

Lanterloo another way played.

LIFT for dealing as aforesaid, and the best putt-card deals five to every one apiece. The dealer for his five cards must lay down so many sixpences, shillings, and so forth, as they conclude upon and agree for every card, or so many counters being valued at either sixpence or twelvepence, more or less. After this all must play; if any be looed he must lay down so much for his loo as his five cards amount to. If any next dealing be looed he must lay down as much for his dealing, and as much more for his loo.

If after this the eldest hand pass, the rest may refuse to play, or play if they think they can win a card.

Here note, if there be never a loo the money may be divided by the gamesters according to the number of their tricks; if there be a loo the winners must take up the money, and he that is looed must lay down as much money on the board as every one had laid down before, be it never so great a sum, besides the like quantity for dealing, if he that was looed dealt.

A GAME CALLED PENNEECH.

HAVING dealt seven cards apiece, turn up a card, and that is trumps. The ace and coat-cards of trumps are thus reckoned; the ace is five, the king four, the queen three, and the knave two.

Having played, he that wins the first trick turns up another card, and that is trumps; and so every trick produceth a fresh trump, till all the seven be played. Now if it so happen, that what is turned up proves an ace or coat-card, that is a great advantage to him who won the last trick; for if it be an ace turned up then he reckons five, if a king four, if a queen three, as aforesaid.

After all the seven cards be played, (which at first are dealt one by one) he that won the last trick turns up a card, and if it prove ace, king, queen, or knave, he reckons for it accordingly as aforesaid.

If the seven of diamonds be turned up, that is *Penneech*, and is reckoned fourteen turned up, but it is but seven in hand, and not that neither unless diamonds be trumps; if it be trump it is the highest card and wins all others; if it be not trump it wins all diamonds.

Lastly, having played out all the fourteen cards betwixt you, count how many cards you have more than your own seven at first dealt you, and for every card reckon one, and so you must reckon on with the value of your coat-card trumps, with *Penneech* turned up or in hand, till you come to sixty-one, which is the game.

Here note, if you have neither ace nor face, you may throw up your game and deal again.

POST AND PAIR.

Post and *Pair* is a game on the cards very much played in the West of England, as *All-fours* is played in Kent, and *Fives* in Ireland.

This play depends much upon daring; so that some may win very considerably, who have the boldness to adventure much upon the vye, although their cards are very indifferent.

You must first stake at post, then at pair; after this deal two cards apiece, then stake at the seat, and then deal the third card about. The eldest hand may pass and come in again, if any of the gamesters vye it; if not, the dealer may plead it out, or double it.

The ace of trumps, as at ruff and honours, is the best card of all, and so of the rest in order. At post the best cards are one and twenty, viz. two tens and an ace, but a pair-royal wins all, both post, pair, and seat. Here note, that he who hath the best pair or the best post is the winner. A pair is a pair of any two, as two kings, two queens, &c. A pair-royal is of three, as three kings, three queens, &c. The vye is what you please to adventure upon the goodness of your own hand; or if it be bad, and you imagine your adversary's is so likewise, then bid him high courageously, by which means you daunt your antagonist, and so bring him to submission. If all the gamesters keep in till all have done, and by consent shew their cards, the best cards carry the game. Now according to agreement those that keep in till last, may divide the stakes, or shew the best card for it.

Observe, where the cards fall in several hands of the same sort, as a pair of pair-royal, and so forth, the eldest hand carries it.

BANKAFALET, A GAME ON THE CARDS SO CALLED.

The cards must be cut into as many heaps as there are players, or more if you please, and every man lays as much money on his own card as he thinks fit, or on the supernumerary heaps. So many as the dealer's card is inferior to, so many he pays; so many as his card is superior to, so many he wins from.

The best card is the ace of diamonds, the next to that the ace of hearts, thirdly the ace of clubs, and lastly the ace of spades, and so the rest of these suits in order, according to their degree. The cheat lies in securing an ace or any other good sure winning card; and if you mark the cards aforehand, so as to know them by the backside, you know how to make your advantage.

BEAST.

It is called by the *French, La Beste,* and is played by them after this manner. The best cards are king, queen, and so forwards. They make three heaps, the king, the play, and the triolet.

To every one is dealt five cards, (there may play three, four, five, or more) as at *French Ruff,* with the same rigour; before the cards are dealt, every one stakes to the three heaps. He that wins most tricks takes up the heap that is called the play; he that hath the king takes up the heap so called; and he that hath three of any sort, that is, three fours, three fives, three sixes, and so forth takes up the triolet.

N° XII.

MINCHIATE.

From the Notes, by Minucci and Biscioni, to Il Malmantile Racquistato, *an Heroi-comic Poem, by L. Lippi.*

Minchiate è una giuoco assai noto, detto anche *Tarocchi, Ganellini, o Germini,* Ma perche è poco usato fuori della nostra Toscana, o almeno diversamente da quel che usiamo noi, per intelligenza delle presenti ottave stimo necessario sapersi, che il giuoco delle minchiate si fa nella maniera che appresso. E composto questo giuoco di novantasette carte, delle quali 56 dicono *Cartacce,* e 40 si dicono *Tarocchi,* ed una che si dice *Il Matto.* Le Carte 56 son divise in quattro specie, che si dicono *Semi,* che in quattordici sono effigiaté *Denari* (che da *Galeotto Marzo* diconsi essere pani antichi contadineschi) in 14 *Coppe,* in 14 *Spade,* ed in 14 *Bastoni,* e ciascuna specie di questo semi comincia da uno, che si dice *Asso,* fino a dieci, e nell' undecima è figurato un Fante, nella 12 un Cavallo, nella 13 una Regina, e nella 14 un Re : e tutte questi carte di semi fuorchè i Rè si dicono Cartacce. Le 40 si dicono Germini o Tarocchi: e questa voce *Tarocchi* vuole il Monosino, che venga dal Greco ἑταῖροι colla qual voce, dice egli coll' Alciato, *Denotantur sodales illi, qui cibi causa ad lusum conveniunt.* Ma quella voce non so, che sia; so bene, che ἑταιροὶ e ἕταροι vuol dire *Sodales:* e da questa voce diminuita all' usanza Latina si può esser fatto *Hetaroculi,* cioè *Compagnoni.—Germini* forse da *Gemini,* segno celeste, che fra' Tarocchi col numero è il maggiore. In queste carte di Tarocchi sono effigiati diversi geroglifici e segni celeste: e ciascuna ha il suo numero da uno fino a 35. e l' ultime cinque fino a 40. non hanno numero, ma si distingue dalla figura impressavi la loro maggioranza, che è in questo ordine *Stella, Luna, Mondo,* e *Trombe,* che è la maggiore, e sarebbe il numero 40. L'allegoria è, che siccome le stelle son vinte di luce dalla luna, e La Luna dal Sole, cosi il mondo è maggiore del Sole, e la Fama,

figurata colle Trombe, vale più che il Mondo; talmente che anche quando l'uomo n'e uscito, vive in esso per fama, quando ha fatte azioni gloriose. Il Petrarca similmente ne' Trionfi fa come un giuoco; perchè amor è superata dalla Castità, la Castità dalla Morte, la Morte dalla Fama, e la Fama dalla Divinità, la quale eternamente regna. Non è numerata nè anche la carta 41. ma vi è impressa la figura d'un *Matto:* e questa si confa con ogni carta, ma non muor mai, cioè non passa mai nel monte dell' avversario, il quale riceve in cambio del ditto *Matto* un altra cartaccia da quello, che dette il Matto: e se alla fine del giuocho quello che detto il Matto, non ha mai preso carte al avversario, conviene che gli dia il Matto, non avendo altra carta da dare in sua vece: e questo è il caso, nel quale si perde il Matto. Di tali *Tarocchi* altri si chiamano *nobili,* perchè contano, cioè chi gli ha in mano vince quei punti, che esse vagliono: altri *ignobili,* perchè non contano. *Nobili* sono 1. 2. 3. 4. e 5. che la carta dell' *Uno* contano 5. e l'altre quattro contano tre per ciaschuna. Il numero 10. 13. 20. e 28. fino al 35 inclusive contano cinque per ciaschuna, e l'ultime cinque contano dieci per ciaschuna, e si chiamano *Arie.* Il *Matto* conta cinque, ed ogni *Re* conta cinque, e sono ancor' essi fra le carte nobil. Il numero 29 non conta, se non quando è in *Verzicoli,* che allora conta cinque, ed una volta meno delle compagne respettivamente. Delle dette carte nobili si formano le *Verzicole* che sono ordini e seguenze almeno di tre carte uguali, come tre Re o quattro Re; o di tre carte andante come 1. 2. 3. 4. e 5. o composte come 1. 13 e 28. Uno, Matto e 40. che sono le *Trombe,* 10. 20. e 30. ovvero 20. 30. e 40. E queste verzicole vanno mostrato prima che si cominci il giuocho, e messe in tavola, il che si dice *Accusare la Verzicola.* Con tutte le verzicole si confà il matto, e conta doppiamente o triplicamente, come fanno l'altre, che sono in verzicola, la quale esiste senza matto e non fa mai verzicola, se non nell' *Uno, Matto,* e *Trombe.* Di queste carte di verzicola si conta il numero che vagliono, tre volte, quando però l'avversario non ve la guasti, ammazzandovene una carta o più, con carte superiore; che in questo caso quelle, che restano, contano due volte, se però, non restano in seguenza di tre. Per esempio: Io mostro a principia del giuoco 32. 33. 34. e 35. se mi muore il 33, o il 34. che rompono la seguenza di tre, la verzicola è guasta: e quelle, che vi restano contano solamente due volte per una; ma se mi muore il 32 o il 35. vi resta la seguenza di tre, e per conseguenza è verzicola, e contano il lor valore tre volte per ciascheduna. *Il Matto,* come s'è detto non fa seguenza, ma conta sempre il suo valore due volte o tre, secondochè conta la verzicola, o guasta o salvata. E quando s'ha più d'una verzicola, con tutte va il *Matto,* ma una sol volta conta tre, ed il resto conta due. E questo s'intende delle verzicole accusate e mostrate, primachè si comince il giuoco; perchè quelle fatte colle carte ammazzate agli avversarj, come sarebbe, se avendo io il 32 ed il 33. amazzassi all'avversario il 31, o il 34. ho fatta la verzicola, e questa conta due volte. Quando è ammazzata alcuna delle carte nobili, ciascuno avversario segna a colui, a cui è stata morta, tanti segni o punti, quanti ne valeva quella tal carta; eccetto però di quelle, che sono state mostrate in verzicola, delle quali, sendo ammazzate, non si segna cosa alcuna, se non da quello, che per privilegio non giuoca; perche tali segni vengono dagli avversarj guadagnati nello scemamento del valore di essa verzicola, che dovria contar

tre volte, e morendo conta due: ed il 29. morendo la verzicola dove esso entrava, conta solo cinque. L'altre carte poi: le quali si dicono *carte ignobili e cartacce*, non contano (sebbene amazzano talvolte le nobili, che contano, come i tarocchi dal numero 6. in su ammazano tutt' i piccini cioè l' 1. 2. 3. 4. e 5. dal 11. in su ammazano il 10. dal 14. in su ammazono il 13. e dal 21. in su ammazano il 20. ed ogni tarocco ammaza i Rè) ma servano per rigirare il giuoco. Questo giuoco appresso di noi non usa, se non in quattro persone al piu ed allora si danno 21. carta per ciascuno: e quando si giuoca in due o in tre se ne danno 25. E giuocandosi in quattro persone, il primo, che seguita dopo quello, che ha mescolate le carte in sulla mano dritta (che si dice *aver la mano*) ha la facultà di non giuocare, e paga segni trenta a quello, che nel giuoco piglia l'ultima carta: e questo, che piglia l'ultima carta (che si dice *far l' ultima*) guadagna a ciascuno di quelli, che hanno giuocato, dieci segni. Colui, che non giuoca, guadagna ancor' egli de' morti cioè segna ancor lui il valore della carta a colui, al quale é ammazzata detta carta. Se questo primo giuoca, il secondo ha la facultà di non giuocare, pagando 40. segni: se il secondo giuoca, il terzo ha detta facultà, pagando 50. segni: se il terzo giuoca, passa la facultà, nel quarto che paga 60. segni, come sopra. Ma se il guioco è solamente in tre persone: non ci è questa facultà, di non giuocare. Mescolate che sono le carte, quello de' giuocatori, che è a mano sinistra di quello, che ha mescolato, n' alza una parte: e se v'è nel fondo di quella parte del mazzo, che gli resta in mano, una delle carte nobili, o un tarocco dal 21. al 27. inclusive, la piglia, e seguita a pigliarle fino a che non vi trova una carta ignobile. Quello, che ha mescolate le carte, dopo averne date a ciascuno, ed a se stesso dieci la prima girata, e undici la seconda, e scoperta a tutti l'ultima carta, la scuopre anche a se medesimo, e poi guarda quella, che segue: e la piglia, se sarà carta nobile o tarocco dal 21. al 27. e seguita a pigliarne come sopra: e questo si dice rubare. E queste carte, che si rubano e si scuoprono, sendo nobili, guadagnano a colui, a chi si scoprono o che le ruba, tanti segni, quanti ne vagliono: e coloro, che le rubano, è necessario, che scartino; cioè si levino di mano altrettante carte a loro elezione, quante ne hanno rubate, per ridurre le lor carte al numero adeguato a quello de' compagni; e chi non scarta, o per altro accidente di carte mal contate, si trova da ultimo con più carte, o con meno degli avversarj, per pena del suo errore non conta i punti, che vagliono le sue carte, ma se ne va a monte. Colui, che dà le carte, se ne dà più o meno del numero stabilito, paga 20. punti a ciascuno degli avversarj: e chi se ne trova in mano più, e' deve scartare quelle, che ha di più; ma non può far vacanza, cioè gli deve rimanere di quel seme, che egli scarta: se ne ha meno, la deve cavar dal monte a sua elezione, ma senza vederla per di dentro, cioè chieder la quinta o la sesta, ec. di quelle, che sono nel monte: e quello, che mescolò le carte (che si dice *far le carte*) fattele alzare, gli dà quella, che ha chiesto. Cominciasi il giuoco dal mostrar le verzicole, che uno ha in mano poi il primo dopo quello, che ha mescolate le carte in sulla mano destra, mette in tavola una carta (il che si dice *Dare*) quegli altri, che seguono devon dare del medesimo seme, se ne hanno: e non ne avendo, devono dar tarocco: e questo si dice *non rispondere*: e dando del medesimo seme, si dice *rispondere*. Chi non risponde, ed ha in mano di quel seme, che è stato messo in tavola, paga un

sessanta punti a ciascuno, e rende quella carta nobile, che avesse ammazzato. Per esempio: il primo dà il Re di danari, ed il secondo benchè abbia denari in mano dà un tarocco sopra il Re, e l'ammazza: scoperto di avere in mano denari, rende il Re a colui di chi era, e paga agli avversarj sessanta punti per ciascuno, come s'è detto. Ogni tarocco piglia tutti i semi, e fra lor tarocchi il maggior numero piglia il minore, ed il matto non piglia mai, e non è preso, se non nel caso detto di sopra. Cosi si seguita, dando le carte, ed il primo a dare è quello, che piglia le carte date: ed ognuno si studia di pigliare al' avversario le carte, che contano: e quando s'è finito di dare tutte le carte, che s'hanno in mano, ciascuno conta le carte, che ha prese: ed avendone di più delle sue 21. segna a chi l'ha meno tanti punti, quante sono li carte, che ha di più: dipoi conta i suoi onori, cioè il valore delle carte nobili e verzicole, che si trova in esse sue carte, e segna all' avversario tanti punti, quanti co' suoi onori conta più di esso: ed ogni sessanta punti si mette da banda un segno, il qual si chiama *un sessanta* o *un resto:* e questi *sessanti* si valutano secondo il concordato. E tanto mi pare, che basti per facilitare l'intelligenza delle presenti ottave, a chi non fosse pratico del giuoco delle Minchiate, che usiamo noi Toscani, che è assai differente da quello, che colle medesime carte usano quelli della Liguria, che lo dicono *Ganellini*; perchè *Minchiate* in quei paesi é parola oscena. Da questa giuoco vengono molte maniere di dire: come *Essere il matto fra, tarocchi, Entrare in tutte le verzicole, Essere le Trombe, Cartacce, Contare, Non contare,* e simili. (Minucci.)

Colle carte delle Minchiate si fanno due altri giuochi diversi da quello, detto comunemente *Alle Minchiate,* descritto quivi sopra dal Minucci; ma però simili fra di loro: e questi si chiamano *A' sei tocchi,* e *Al palio.* Si fa *A' sei tocchi* in due persone, ed anco in tre e in quattro. Si mescolano le carte, ed alzate, se ne danno sette per uno, le quali ciascheduno tiene scoperte avanti di sè sulla tavola. Di poi quello, che ha fatto le carte, preso in mano il mazzo di quelle, che sono avanzate, ne trae una per volta dalla medesima parte, donde ha tratto l'altre, che ha dato a' compagni: e scopertala, se quella tal carta tocca, cioè è accanto, o di sopra o di sotto, a una di quelle, che sono scoperte in tavola, chi ha questo tocco, la prende per se, e la serba, fintantochè non n' ha acquistate sei: ed il primo, che arriva a questo numero, vince il giuoco. Per esempio: Nelle mie sette carte scoperre v'è il 25. se esce fuori il 24. o il 26. io dico *tocco,* e prendo quella carta. E se per avventura uno de 'compagni averà il 23. o il 27. allora il 24. o il 26. non si dà a nessuno, e si pone nel mezzo della tavole, per esservi due, che lo toccano. Chi fa *Pappoleggio,* vince il giuoco di posta, ancorchè non avesse acquistate alcuna carta. Il *Pappoleggio* è, quando alcuno ha due carte tra le scoperte, che siano distanti un punto l'una dall' altra, v. gr. il due e il quattro di danari: se esce fuori il tre, si fa pappoleggio, e resta vinto il giuoco. E in questo modo si giuoca *A' sei tocchi,* come si dice, alla piana, e senza pericolo di molta perdita. Ma volendosi fare giuoco più grosso, s'usano alcuni patti o scommesse, che sono le seguenti: *Primo tocco, Guasto,* e *Privilegio.* Il *Primo tocco* è l'essere il primo ad acquistare una carta: il *Guasto* è, l'escir fuori una carta, distante due punti da una delle scoperte; v. gr. uno ha il 13. ed esce fuora l' 11. o il 15. E *Privilegio* è la carta distante tre punti, che al 13. sarebbe il 10.

e il 16. Ed ogni volta, che si vince una di queste tre scommesse, si segna una partita. Si scommette ancora al *primo tocco in tavola* (che è quando si tocca colla primo carta, che esce fuori) ed allora si segnano due partite: e si scommette *alle verzicole,* che è, quando si fa verzicola colle carte scoperte, e con quelle ancora, che s'acquistano. Inoltre si vince il *giuoco marcio* a coloro, che sono la metà delle sei: e si segna loro la posta doppia. Ora perchè questo giuoco (quando si fa specialmente con tutti questi patti) richiede molta attenzione, potendo passare a monte o esser prese da altri molte carte, che si sarebbero potute acquistare per sè; di qui è, che si può dubitare, essere da ciò derivato il detto, usato dalnostro poeta nel C. 6. St. 44. per dimostrar due, che stiano attentissimi a tavola a mangiare:

Sembrano a solo a sol due toccatori;

perciocchè in verità certi tali non muovona mai il guardo di sul loro piatto, ed insieme colla coda dell' occhio guardano, se venga altra vivanda, siccome i detti giuocatori a' sei tocchi guardano con tutta attenzione le proprie carte, e danna nell' istesso tempo un occhiata a quelle, che sono tratte del mazzo. E in ordine a questa denominazione si può a dire, che come coloro, che giuocano alle minchiate; si domandano *Minchiatisti*; cosi quelli, che giuocano a' sei tocchi, si dicano con voce equivoca *Toccatori.* Non riprovo per altro la spiegazione del Minucci, fatta nella sua nota alla citata stanza 44. ma dicobensi che non dal ritrovarsi due toccatori all' osteria (che è cosa molto accidentale e da non fare stato per un detto comune) ma dal loro ufizio proprio sia derivata l'origine. Negli statuti della Mercanzia libr. 1. rubr. 13. si legge: *Amministrino almeno due di loro insieme il loro offizio, e se faranno alcun tocco, al quale non siano stati almeno due di loro presenti, e tanto propinqui l'un all' altro, che abbino possuto sentire le parole l'uno dell' altro, ec.* e di sotto *Faccino di loro tre coppie, ec.* Per tanto dal l'andare cosi uniti ed attenti per fare il loro ufizio, ne sarà nato il proverbo. In questa rubrica si dichiara, come anco dalle addotte parole si vede, che i toccatori erano sei; ma ora sono ridotti a due soli, per esservi poco bisogno del loro ministero. Ora passando a dire del giuoco *Al palio,* questo si fa nella medesima maniera, che *A' sei tocchi:* solo è differente in questo: Che si debbono acquistare dodici carte, ma si pigliano non solo quelle, che toccano, ma tutte quelle, che sono più accoste, e che non siano distanti i medesimi punti da quelle degli altri compagni. Quelle però, che toccano, contano, come se fossero due: e l'altre, che non toccano contano per una. Il giuoco però si vince da colui, che prima degli altri arriva a segnare dieci, ovvero dodici lupini, o dichiamo segni; che ciò stà nel concordato. Chi è il primo ad acquistare dodici carte, segna un lupino: chi fa il tocco in tavola, ne segna due: e ciò non seguendo, chi prima tocca, ne segna uno: chi accusa pappoleggio, ne segna uno; e venendo fuori il detto pappoleggio, ne segna tre: avendo nelle carte scoperte, o venendo con quelle, che s'acquistano una verzicola, ne segna uno: ed essendo la verzicola d'arie, ne segna due. Si possono ancora in questa giuoco fare scommesse di verzicole, tocchi e altro: conforme più piace a' giuocatori. Biscioni.

N° XIII.

TAROCCO.

ACCIDENT having at length thrown into my hands The Invective of Flavio Alberto Lollio, referred to at page 26, which I had in vain looked for during the progress of the work, I shall here subjoin a few passages from it, tending to shew that the *Tarocchi* were the same at the period when it was written which are still in use in Italy. It is not the original edition said to have been printed by Giolito at Venice in 1550, which is quoted from, but a reimpression in a small volume of *Rime Piacevoli,* of various authors, printed at Ferrara in 1590. The poem, which is in *versi sciolti,* bears the title of *Invettiva contra il Gioco del Tarocco, di Flavio Alberto Lollio*; *Ferrarese.*

After a general invective against gaming, the poet says.

Io fui gia di parer, che il più bel gioco
Che si possa giocare a Carte, fosse
Quel del *Tarocco*: onde talhor per spasso,
Per ricrear li spiriti afflitti, e stanchi
Con lui mi trastullava: trapassando
Quelle hore che son men atte a i studi;
Ricordandomi, che gli huomini illustri
De i lor gravi negoci: & racchettato
Gli alti pensieri, e le noiosi cure
Cosi si ricreava Palamede, &c.

He then proceeds to acknowledge his error, and to call Tarocco

Giuoco maligno, perfido, e bugiardo:
Giuoco, che mette i tuoi danari à squarzo:
Giuoco da impoverire Attalo, e Mida,
Perch' egli è cugin della Bassetta:
E dove l'huomo spera haver piacere
Lo fa star sempre in duol, sempre in timore

The game then begins, and as the description is not unpoetical, I shall transcribe it.

Ecco che s'incomincio à dar le Carte:
La prima man ti fà una bella vista
Tal, che tu tien l'invitto, & lo rifai
Quelle che vengon dietro, altra facenda
Mostrano haver: ne più de' casi tuoi
Tengon memoria alcuna: onde tu stai
Sospeso alquanto: & di vada: quell' altro
Il qual par che il favor lor si prometta
Ingrossera la posta: alhor trafitto

Da vergogna, dolor, d'invidia, e d'ire
Ten vai à monte, co'l viso abassato.
Non à si gran cordoglio un Capitano
Quando si crede la pugna vinta,
E mentre ei grida vittoria, vittoria;
Da nuovo assalto sopragiunto vede
Audar la gente sua rotta, e dispersa
Quanto hà costui. Vengon dapoi quell' altre
Due man di carte, hor liete, hor triste: et quando
L'ultime aspetti che ti dian soccorso
Havendola invitata già dal resto,
Tu ti vedi arrivare (oh dolor grande)
Carte gaglioffe da farti morire,
Totalmente contrarie al tuo bisogno.
Onde di stizza avampi: e tutto pieno
Di mal talento, rimbrottando pigli
Lo avanzo de le carte che son venti.
Queste t'empion le mani, & buona pezza
Ti dan travaglio e briga, in rassettare
Dinar: Coppe: Baston, Spade: e Trionfi.
Però che ti conviene ad una, ad una
Metterle in ordinanza: ———
———— Quindi s'hai quattro,
O cinque carte di Ronfa, tu temi
Che non te muoia il Re, con le figure;
Onde si strugge il cuor, spasma la mente,
Stando in bilancia fra speme, e timore.
Quello è lo infinimento e'l creppacuore
Che sei sforzato à tener per tuo specchio
Certe cartaccie che ti fan languire.

Rispondendo à ciascun giuoco per giuoco:
Et se per ignoranza, ò per errore
Dai una carta che non vada à verso,
Tu fenti andar le voci infino al cielo.
Ne ti pensar che quivi sian finite
Le pene tue: bisogna tener conto
D'ogni minima carta, che si giuochi,
Altramente ogni cosa va in ruina.

Et s'egli avien talhor c'habbi un bel giuoco
T' andrà si mal giocato, che ne perdi
Una dozzina ò due: talhora tutti.
Quante volte non puo coprire il Matto?

Dove lass'io quel numerar noioso
D'ogni *Trionfo,* ch' esca fuori ?—

Che vuol dir altro *il Bagatello, e'l Matto*
Se non ch' ei fusse un ciurmatore e un barro ?
Che significar' altro *la Papessa*
Il Carro, il Traditor, la Ruota, il Gobbo :
La Fortezza, la Stella, il Sol, la Luna,
E la Morte, e l'Inferno : e tutto il resto
Di questa bizarria. ———
E quel nome fantastico, e bizarro
Di Tarocco, senz' ethimologia.

In tanto io pregherò con caldo affetto,
Con sacrifici e voti i Dei del Cielo
Che facciansi, che subito si estingua
Lo inchiostro, il giallo, il verde, il bianco, il rosso,
E altri tal color con che si fanno
Carte, ò *Tarocchi,* faccian che la Carta
Sen vada in fumo tutta : ne si trovi
Alcuno più che i lor degni ardisca
Tagliare in legno, onde le stampe fansi :
Talche quest' arte si dannosa e trista
Sparisca a un tratto del cuore alle gentì :
Acciò che i nostri posteri dì lei
Vestigio alcun non trovino, e per sempre
Resti del tutto la memoria spenta.

N° XIV.

LETTER FROM ALEX. P. BUCHAN, M.D. TO THE AUTHOR.

SIR,

I FEEL no difficulty in complying with your request to be permitted to publish the hypothesis respecting the origin of playing cards, and their analogy with some astronomical phenomena, which was read at one of the meetings of the Antiquarian Society, in your very ingenious and elaborate work on that subject, provided you consider the notion as having any claim to public attention, and you will allow me to premise some explanatory observations.

In part of your intended publication, which I have seen, you are pleased to state that I have employed my leisure in investigations of this kind. Permit me to assure you, Sir, that the idea, if it have any real foundation, suggested itself to my mind in the most fortuitous manner; and that I consider the whole merely as a conjecture, being perfectly indifferent whether it be confirmed or confuted.

A pack of cards lying on the table before me, I happened, by mere accident, to reckon the number of pips, pictured cards, &c. in a particular series, (you will readily apprehend I am no player, otherwise I should have derived amusement of another kind from the same materials,) and finding, to my surprise, that the sum of the addition amounted to 365, the precise number of days in the solar year, I was naturally induced to inquire whether some further analogy with the epochs of times and seasons, as indicated by the almanack, might not be detected.

Having committed the particulars, which a further prosecution of the subject suggested, to paper, I communicated them to my respected friend N. CARLISLE, Esq. Secretary to the Antiquarian Society, accompanied with a request that he would inquire of some member of that learned body whether they had any claims to originality: as the analogy appeared to me so strikingly obvious, I could not help thinking it must previously have occurred to the mind of some other person. Whether my request was complied with previously to the public reading of the paper, I know not; but the paper was read at one of the meetings of the Society, after which a member, as I am informed, stated to the secretary that the whole was a trick,[1] or attempt to impose upon the attention of that learned body as something new, a story borrowed from an old jest-book.

[1] HOAX, as I am informed, was the term used, which, though frequently heard in the common parlance of a certain class of people, is a word which I confess myself totally ignorant of as it respects either its precise meaning or its proper etymology. Having looked for it in vain in the glossary of Captain Grose, as well as in the Dictionary of Dr. Johnson.

If so it be, I can with truth assert, that I was then, and am now, quite unaware of the existence of any such book; nor do I perceive any thing of the kind noticed in the course of your elaborate researches. Since this matter was mentioned, I have, indeed, seen a penny paper fluttering on the wall at Hyde-Park corner, containing a story of a serjeant, who, being threatened with military punishment for playing cards on a Sunday, drew a pack from his pocket, and by explaining to the court martial their relation to months, days, weeks, &c. obtained an acquittal. Perhaps this story may be copied from the jest-book in question, but I have not yet met with it. To my mind, however, this coincidence affords an additional proof of the probability of the conjecture, for, did not some real analogy exist between the cards and the phenomena of astronomy, it could not be rendered so easily obvious, whether considered seriously or in jest.

Taking into consideration the peculiarities of the soil, as well as of the climate of the country, I think it can excite no surprize that games of a sedentary nature should originate in Egypt, nor that these amusements should be symbolical of some of the leading truths of astronomy.

For nearly three months of the year, that country is inundated by the waters of the Nile, a period during which all active occupation is necessarily suspended. The inhabitants are confined to the more elevated spots on which cities and villages are situated, and their occupations or amusements must therefore of course be confined to those of a domestic nature.

To the early inhabitants of Egypt it must have been of infinite importance to ascertain the precise period of the commencement of this inundation, a species of knowledge without which it was there wholly impracticable to carry on the requisite business of agriculture. This important object was attained by sedulously studying the phenomena of the celestial bodies; hence it is with considerable probability supposed, that the science of astronomy had its origin in that country.

As some of the most interesting events, such as the commencement and decline of the inundation, the time of harvest, &c. were observed to be connected with the rising and setting of certain stars, it was natural for the uninformed to conclude, that these events stood to each other in the relation of cause and effect; and of course the notion of this celestial influence was extended to many of the more common occurrences of life. This superstition was probably encouraged by the magi or priests, who were the depositaries of all real knowledge, as a means of augmenting their influence or authority with the people at large; for it was their policy to govern the multitude in great measure by means of their superior knowledge of the real causes of natural phenomena, not by rending the veil from the sacred face of science, and exposing her mysteries to the gaze of the profane vulgar.[1]

[1] Were the construction of the common almanack (a word not, in my humble opinion, derived from the Saxon al-mon-aught, or knowledge of the moons, but from אל־מנה al-menah, the numberer, or regulator of times and seasons) restricted to any particular college or body of men, supposing a knowledge of the principles on which the calculations are founded to be wholly confined to themselves, with what veneration would they be regarded! How ignorant are many of those who daily find their way across the trackless ocean, with a degree of precision truly astonishing, of the principles and calculations on which their faithful guide, the Nautical Almanack, is founded.

In order to conceal this important branch of knowledge from the people, and confine it to the initiated alone, it became necessary to conceal it under various symbols and enigmas, constituting the hieroglyphic writing, or language peculiar to the learned.

The sphynx for example, an emblem composed of the head of a human female and the body of a lion, indicated to those who understood the proper meaning of the symbol, that the inundation of the Nile continued during the two months which the Sun was (at that period) in the signs of the ecliptic, named Leo and Virgo.

The sphynx[2] was also the hieroglyphic of abundance, or plenty; for the plentifulness of the ensuing harvest depended on the relative rising of the water while the sun was passing through those signs.

It was also discovered that the period of the inundation was preceded by the heliacal rising of a peculiarly bright star, and it was the business of certain of the priests to note the first emergence of this star, and to warn the people to secure their safety by retreating to the more elevated parts of the country, out of the reach of the rising waters.

The appearance of this star giving warning of the approach of danger, as a faithful dog alarms his master by his barking, the Deity supposed to reside in it, obtained the name of ANUBIS, or the Barker, was represented by a human figure with the head of a dog, and it still retains the name of dog-star in regions where the appellation is destitute of any appropriate meaning.

The chief deities of the Egyptians are known to have been,

OSIRIS, whose symbol was the Sun, considered as the general active male fecundating principle, and regulator of the solar year.

ISIS, the representative of female nature, or the passive principle of reproduction, mother and nurse of all things, whose emblem was the moon, whose varied phases regulated the Neo-mania, or monthly festivals, and whose symbols were diversified according to the seasons of the year.

In these personages I think we may still recognize what the Gypsies, in their peculiar jargon, term the king and queen of Heaven.

HORUS, their supposed offspring, was generally represented as a child reclining on the lap of Isis. Or, when of a more advanced age, as a youth supported by the lotus, with his finger placed on his lip, implying that the sacred mysteries ought not to be divulged.

By this mysterious TRIAD was indicated, in my opinion, that perpetual succession of production, temporary existence, and dissolution, which pervades all living nature; —The means by which it has pleased the Almighty to maintain the animated creation in perpetual youth, beauty, and perfection.

[2] שפע sphang, to be abundant—to overflow—inundation, &c. vide Parkhurst and Bates. I am here taking it for granted, that the Hebrew, and the ancient Egyptian or Coptic, were the same tongue. That they were dialects nearly related I have no doubt. But this opinion is supported by an authority which no antiquary will, I think, call in question. "That it (the ancient Coptic) was founded upon the Hebrew, the venerable parent of all languages, I can have no doubt; and its similarity both to that tongue and to the Phœnician, I hold to be capable of demonstration."

Vide, an Essay on a Punic inscription, &c. by the Right Honourable SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

To these ANUBIS,[1] whose residence was in the dog-star, the regulator of the inundations, was a species of inferior existence. The caduceus, by which he is distinguished, was merely the rod, staff, or sceptre, by which every leader, or judge, MOSES for example, was designated. Probably from קדוש cadush, just, or separated to do justice, a magistrate. The wings and serpents are symbols of spirit or motion, and of animation. From these attributes his various offices, as conductor of souls, &c. may be readily deduced.

These remarks are intended to shew you, Sir, that I am in the habit of considering the symbols of remote antiquity, when properly understood, as veiling knowledge of a curious and valuable kind; and if we consider cards as originating in Ægypt, why may they not also be symbolical of some useful branch of human knowledge?

How far this simple and useful theology was perverted by Grecian ignorance and vanity, this is not a proper opportunity to inquire. As one instance, it may just be observed, that they converted the Ægyptian Thaut, or Dog, the same as Anubis, who, as presiding over the inundation, was supposed also to regulate commercial concerns, then necessarily carried on by the medium of boats or ships, into the god Mercury (also a Coptic word), the Deity of Merchants, and also of Thieves; for it seems to have been an opinion held by men esteemed eminent for wisdom, both in ancient and modern days, that there is an intimate connection between fraud and traffic. The SON of Sirach says, "that as a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin between buying and selling;" and trade is defined by Dr. Franklin to be "a system of legalized cheating."

In the sheets of your work which you have permitted me to inspect, I observe that, in divers places, cards are termed Naibi. Now in Hebrew, נבא, niba, signifies to prophesy or foretel, and as the Ægyptian magi conceived the destinies of men to be regulated by the aspects of the planets, does not this term indicate some original connection between cards and astronomy, or, at least, astrology? In the Maldivian Islands learned men are denominated Naibæ, and among the Turks a certain class of Priests are termed Naibs.

Excuse the desultoriness of these observations, which laborious occupation of a very different nature prevents me at present from rendering more correct, and believe me to be,

Your obedient Servant,

Percy-street, Jan. 1816. ALEX. P. BUCHAN, M. D.

[1] As in all languages the labial letters are interchangeable, it appears no violent stretch of etymological conjecture to derive the Latin Nebulo and English Knave from Anubis.

A

CONJECTURE

CONCERNING THE

ORIGIN OF PLAYING CARDS AND THE GAME OF WHIST.

BY ALEX. P. BUCHAN, M.D.

CONSIDERABLE ingenuity has been bestowed in attempts to investigate the origin of cards, and the invention of the various games played by their instrumentality.

With the exception of some personal contests of strength and dexterity, games appear in general to be symbolical of the more important occupations, or emblematic of the recondite knowledge of mankind; intended by their original devisers, like the apologues of antiquity, to imbue the mind with useful knowledge through the medium of amusement.

Chess, for example, is a precise image of the art of war, as formerly conducted in the countries where that game originated, the practice of which could not fail to keep in mind, during the intervals of peace, the general principles of that most serious and important of human occupations.

Nor does it appear probable that a series of emblems displaying such a variety and complexity of combination as we find contained in a pack of cards, should have been the invention of any individual, independently of some prototype in nature or art.

The department of human knowledge of which cards seem to be symbolical, the subsequent observations are intended to develope.

The twelve pictured cards appear to be emblematic of the twelve signs of the zodiac, termed by astronomers mansions of the sun, and of course equivalent to the twelve months of the solar year.

Each of these signs is divided into three decans, or thirty degrees; and in all numerical games at cards, each honour, or pictured card, is considered as equivalent in value to ten; and $30 \times 12 = 360$, the number of days of the ancient Egyptian year, and is equal to the number of degrees into which the equator or great circle is still divided.

Cards are distinguished by two colours, red and black, answering to the great division of the year into two equal parts, from solstice to solstice and equinox to equinox.

The four suits [1] indicate the four seasons, which appear formerly to have been distinguished by devices much more appropriate than those now in use. Spades represented acorns which are mature in autumn; and Hearts were cups, indicating, probably, that wine was ready and fit to be drunk in the winter season.

The whole number of cards in a pack, fifty-two, is equal to the number of weeks into which the year is divided; and the number of cards in each suit, viz. thirteen, is equivalent to the number of weeks contained in each quarter of the civil year. The

number of spots or pips upon one suit is	55
which multiplied by ..	4
give	220
Pips upon pictured cards	12
Honours taken at 10 each	120
Number of cards in each suit ..	13
Added together give ..	365

the precise number of days contained in the solar year.

The casual observation of the concurrence of the numbers of the leading distinctions of cards, when added together, with the exact number of days of the year, first suggested the idea that some analogy might exist between cards and astronomy.

Cards are played and dealt circularly from left to right, according to the apparent course of the sun, and when arranged into tricks they amount to thirteen, consisting of four suits each; and if each card be considered as representing a week, then these tricks may be considered as symbolical of the thirteen lunar months of which the year consists.

Might not then a conjecture be indulged, that cards were originally devised for the purpose of reminding those who understood the allusion of the real system of the universe, with which the philosophers or priests of antient Ægypt were well acquainted, although they carefully concealed such knowledge from the profane vulgar? In cards appear to be symbolized the motion of the earth round the sun, the relation of the lunar to the solar year, the precise number of weeks and days contained in the latter, also the division of the year according to the signs, the northern and southern, or ascending and descending signs, and into the four seasons.

Concerning the period when cards were invented little has been determined; they seem to have made their appearance in different countries of Europe nearly about the same period, viz. the fourteenth century. [2] But games are known to be played by means of similar emblems painted upon boards of wood in Arabia, Persia, and even in China. [3]

[1] Clubs were originally Trefoils, representing Spring. Diamonds were formerly Roses, typical of Summer, &c. *Vide* Archæologia, Vol. XV.

[2] This period coincides, I believe, with the generally received opinion respecting the time of the first appearance of the Gipsies, who rapidly spread over all Europe. Want of a present opportunity of reference renders this fact doubtful.

[3] Vide Archæologia, from Breitkopf.

If cards were invented in Asia, they may, like many other inventions peculiar to that part of the world, have been brought to Europe by the crusaders.

Should this conjecture be admitted to have any real foundation, it will reflect some light upon the very general employment of cards for the purpose of divination or fortune-telling, particularly by the Gipsies. Judicial astrology, or an opinion that the fates and fortunes of the sons of men are influenced by the positions and aspects of the celestial bodies, is one of the most ancient forms of superstition that have prevailed among mankind. But why should cards in particular be employed as the instruments of discovering this mysterious influence, unless they were originally supposed to bear some relation to astrology, a science which by the vulgar has always been confounded with astronomy?

The sound of the name of the most popular game of cards—Whist, or Whisk, is very analogous to that of the Hebrew word שפט *shipeth*, which signifies to regulate, distribute, determinate, direct, also to judge, whence the Carthaginian magistrates were denominated Suffetes.[1] In Chaldaic משפט *mishpith*, signifies astrology, or the art of divining from the stars.

Even in Backgammon may be perceived a still more remote analogy to similar principles. That game consists in distributing thirty pieces (equivalent to the number of days in the month) in certain numbers upon twelve points, and their movements are directed by the chances of the spots inscribed upon a pair of cubes, the greatest possible combination of which is limited to twelve.

To a pregnant imagination, the game of draughts might, perhaps, suggest the idea of a democracy, or popular form of government, in which individuals, after atchieving rank and power by their own energy and exertions, exercise their privileges according to law; while chess is emblematic of despotism, supported by an armed force, where every thing is regulated by the will, and subservient to the power and preservation of a shiek, or chief.

ALEX. P. BUCHAN, M. D.

Percy Street, Dec. 19, 1812.

[1] From this term Parkhurst derives *shift*, whence probably *shuffle*.

N° XV.

COMMUNICATION BY R. P. CRUDEN, ESQ.

Mr. CRUDEN directed his enquiries respecting cards to a Dutch gentleman who had been many years resident in Japan, and has kindly favoured me with the answer he received to his questions, the substance of which is as follows.

SIR, Dordt, August 15, 1815.

IN answer to yours of the 26th of July, containing a request for information respecting playing cards in Japan, their use, &c. I have the honour to reply, That the cards used by the Japanese are manufactured in Japan; but I do not know the number each pack contains, nor whether there is more than one kind. I do not think they have any description of them, since gambling, and more particularly card-playing, is prohibited, upon pain of very severe punishment.

The cards differ not in size, but in the marks on them, from the Chinese; those which I have seen are marked with numerical figures, pictures of images, and arms coloured and ornamented with gold and silver: they have as well figured as numerical names, and are somewhat larger than the fourth part of an English card, the same shape, but a little thicker.

Two or more persons play at the game, each having six, eight, or more cards, and the remainder are left on the table, four of which are turned up. In playing a card is played the same as one of the four thus turned up, and these two are taken and placed as a trick before the person who played: another is then turned up from the pack in lieu of the one taken up; if this one should be of the same sort with the one last played it is also added to that trick; in playing the highest are played in preference to the lower cards. Each player follows the example of the first in rotation until it comes to the turn of the first to play again. The game thus proceeds until all the cards are played, when the tricks of each player are counted, it seems that the more cards of one sort any one has the better. He that first counts 100 or more, as it has been settled, is the winner; but I declare I know not how this counting is regulated, having at my departure from Japan left behind me all my papers, among which are my notes.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

R. P. CRUDEN, Esq. J. COCK BLOMHOFF.

I have been since honoured with the following communication from Mr. Cruden, which I think too curious to be withheld from the public.

Dear Sir,

As a recent examination of the statutes in which cards are mentioned has afforded me some grounds for limiting the period within which they were probably introduced into England, I have thought it may not be wholly uninteresting to you to receive some account of the information they contain.

In 11 Henry IV. anno 1409, an act passed, directing the punishment which should be inflicted upon persons offending against a statute of 12 Richard II. Cap. 6, anno 1388, forbidding certain games, viz. " coytes, dyces, gettre de pere, keyles, and aultres tielx jeues importunes."

From this I infer that cards were not known in England at that period, or they would have been named; if coytes give an active diversion, dyces afford as sedentary an amusement as cards do, and it is scarcely probable that dice would have been prohibited and cards allowed, by a statute not meant to regulate or obstruct active sports exclusively.

If it is urged that the " aultres tielx jeues importunes," may include cards, I answer, that it is certainly as decent an *et cetera* as need appear in a statute, but that it was probably designed to prevent the games which are expressly named, from being evasively played under another denomination.

The act of 10 Anne, Cap. 19, prohibiting the importation of cards, refers to the act of 3 Edward IV, Cap. 4, anno 1463, where I believe cards are for the first time mentioned, and the importation of them first forbidden.

Thus probably cards were first known in England between the years 1409 and 1463.

The statute prohibiting their importation in 1463, admits the presumption that they were known in England some years previously, and bring the period within which they probably may have been used in France very near to the æra of Charles VI.

Again our statutes solve a puzzle—in the 1 Henry IV. Cap. 7, anno 1399, are these words: " Et qe null *vadlet* appelle *yoman* preigne ne use nulle liveree du roi ne de null autre seignour sur peine demprisonement."

I should like extremely to know the result of an inquiry into the manner of making playing cards in England immediately after the year 1463, when they were no longer to be obtained from abroad. That they were used is not to be doubted. The act afterwards restraining the use of them did not pass till the 33 Henry VIII. Cap. 8, anno 1541.

In such an inquiry it should not be overlooked that in the act of 1 Richard III. Cap. 9, anno 1483, containing restraints upon aliens, it is provided that it shall not prevent any *alluminor*, reader, or printer of books, from dwelling within the realm for the exercise of their occupations.

It is a curious fact that a tax was first levied upon cards anno 1631, in the reign of Charles I.; it was one of the impositions complained of as arbitrary and illegal

being levied without consent of parliament, and which complaints terminated in the sacrifice of the monarch and his minister (Strafford).

There are three packs of Florentine cards for playing at Minchiate and Tarocco, mentioned in the inventory of curiosities at Strawberry Hill. See Edit. of 1774, p. 108, and Edit. of 1784, p. 76.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

ROBERT P. CRUDEN.

Gravesend, Dec. 5, 1815.

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DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

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Opposite the Title.

2. Oriental Cards. The originals are painted on Ivory, from the same collection. *to face page* 16.

3. Fac-similes of circular engraved Cards of the fifteenth century, attributed to Martin Schoen. From the same collection. *to face page* 45.

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. Fac-similes of a complete pack of early German Cards, engraved on Wood, in possession of Mr. Triphook, from the cabinet of the late R. Gough, Esq. *to face page* 172.

12. Early Italian Trappola Cards. *to face page* 199.

13. 14. Fac-simile of two ancient prints by an Italian artist of the fifteenth century, (attributed to Finiguerra, and supposed to be Tarocchi Cards.)
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16. Fac-simile of a portion of a rare print of the year 1500, by an anonymous engraver, representing the Duke and Duchess of Bavaria playing at Cards.
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P. 94. Note. The monastery of *Soubiaco* has been here inadvertently placed at *Rome*. The reader will please to substitute the *Sortensian* or *Eusebian Monastery*.
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P. 269, note 1. *for* Trupm *read* Trump.
P. 270, l. 14. *for* conclud *read* conclude.

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Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

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Singer, Samuel Weller, 1783-1858.
Researches into the history of playing c
London, R. Triphook, 1816.
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